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The South Wall of Balkh-Bactra¹

RODNEY S. YOUNG

PLATES 72-77

THE site of the ancient city of Bactra has usually been identified with the modern and Islamic city presently called Balkh. Topographical data for ancient Bactra are scanty in the extreme. The city lay on the Bactrus River, some miles above its junction with the Oxus. Bactra-Zariaspa² was traditionally the home of Zoroaster. In Hellenistic times it was the capital city of the independent kingdom of the Euthydemids, strong enough to withstand siege by Antiochus the Great in 208 B.C. The kingdom and its capital were reported by the Romans to have been fabulously rich. At the time of the Roman Empire Bactra was an important point on the silk route from the east, and one terminus of a southward branch to India which ran up the valley of the Bactrus to cross the high passes of the Hindu Kush, passing through Cartana (the modern Bamian) and Alexandria ad Caucasum (somewhere near the modern Charikar) to descend to its other terminus, Taxila in the Indus Valley.³ Bactra was thus known to the Western world, remote but renowned, from the sixth century before Christ to the third or fourth century of our era. The period from the time of Alexander until the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom about 130 B.C. must have been that in which Bactria was best known to the West and in closest touch with it; unfortunately the literary sources, including Polybius' account of the siege, are lost.⁴ The ancient reputation of Bactra as it has come down should lead us to expect a site once rich and populous, strongly fortified, and situated on the east-west caravan route of the Oxus Valley at the point where a branch southward to India diverged up the valley of the Bactrus River.

The site at Balkh conforms in a general way

to these topographical requirements. Its relation in ancient times to the course of the Bactrus River is not now clear, since the waters have long since been diverted to water Mazar-i-Sherif, the medieval successor to Bactra, which lies some miles eastward, and dispersed to irrigate the Balkh oasis. One small channel skirts the east side of the site; the waters of this may be diverted into a number of channels from time to time for purposes of irrigation. In modern times the Bactrus River (the combined streams of the Darrah and the Band-i-Emir) no longer reaches the Oxus, and the ancient course of the river is impossible to determine.⁵ The city lies in the plain five or six miles from the foot of the mountains to the north of the gap through which the river emerges. Greek founders of a new city would doubtless have chosen a site on high ground at the base of the mountain chain, at the same time more easily defensible and in a better position to guard the mouth of the river valley. The Greeks, however, were late-comers who evidently took over a settlement already inhabited instead of settling a new one. In any case, unsuitable as it may seem by Greek standards, Balkh seems to be the only site in the region which in magnitude and in position accords with the slight topographical data that have come down to us.

The city (plan, pl. 72, fig. 1) consists of two parts: the Bala Hisar or Acropolis at the north, and the lower town. The Bala Hisar, oval in shape, measures roughly 1,500 by 1,000 m. inside; at the south side lies an inner citadel, standing somewhat higher, called the Arg (equals *Arx*). The somewhat ruinous walls of the Bala Hisar are evidently of Islamic date, but they stand on a high escarp-

¹ I am greatly indebted to Mr. Daniel Schlumberger for permission to make a sondage at Balkh, a site which the French Mission in Afghanistan has been investigating for upward of thirty years. I am indebted also for many kindnesses and courtesies, and for advice and consultation on the results, both in person and by letter. To Mr. M. Le Berre, architect for the French Mission, I owe thanks for permission to use his unpublished plans. A month was spent in digging at Balkh, from October 5 to November 3, 1953. The tracings of the French plans, the section, and the profiles of mouldings are the work of Miss Dorothy H. Cox.

² On the identity of Bactra and Zariaspa see W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edition (Cambridge 1951) 114f., referred to hereafter as Tarn.

³ On this route and the passes of the Hindu Kush, see *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, Tome I—A. Foucher, *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. 1, referred to hereafter as Foucher.

⁴ On the date of the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom see Tarn, Chapter VII—"The Nomad Conquest of Bactria," and especially pp. 294f. On sources for its history, Tarn, pp. 44f.

⁵ Air photography might be of great help here; but flying is forbidden so close to the border. There are clear traces of a moat of two periods around the Bala Hisar, and at the south and east sides of the lower city. These moats must have drawn their water from the river.

ment or embankment of earth at least 15 m. in depth. The whole, including those parts of the south and west sides that lay within the walls of the lower town, was surrounded by a wide moat. In places on the north and east sides it is possible to distinguish traces of a second, later, moat which no doubt belonged to the Islamic fortress. Within the Bala Hisar there are no mounds or other traces of buildings (except at the Arg); the entire area is a nearly flat expanse strewn with small stones, broken burned brick, and plentiful Islamic sherds, and overgrown with low scrubby bushes. A large part of the west side of this expanse is occupied by cemeteries of late Islamic and modern times. The general surface level within the Bala Hisar must be some six or seven meters higher than that of the lower town; the sloping embankment on which the Islamic walls stand is as apparent within the walls as without, though not as high. In its present state the Bala Hisar offers no clues as to where it might be profitable to dig, though in places it is evident that it was surrounded by a wall earlier than the Islamic one now visible, and built of large square sun-dried bricks measuring from 36 to 42 cm. on a side, and about 10 cm. in thickness.⁶

The lower town offers no more clues than does the Bala Hisar. Most of the area, as shown on the plan, is thickly planted with fruit trees, poplars, and the like, interspersed with fields of grain and cotton. The northern end of the west section lies flat and bare; but this part lay within the Islamic, not the earlier, circuit. The northern part of the east section is now somewhat marshy, and here the local peasants now have several crude workshops for the extracting of saltpeter from the earth, done by mixing the earth with water, allowing it to settle, and then boiling the water to precipitate the salts. The central part is occupied by the modern town which has been carefully planned and laid out, but has never grown beyond the size of a small village. In this central area are the mosque called Masjid-i-Sabz and a monumental arch, once the entrance to the Madrassah of Seyed Suba Kuli Khan—both monuments of the Timurid period. From the center the main routes run eastward to Mazar-i-Sherif, northeastward to Termez and the Oxus crossing, westward to Akcha, and southward to the Bactrus River gap in the mountains. The only archaeological area which obtrudes itself upon

the eye is the large mound, Tepe Zargarán, which lies at the eastern margin of the area, partly overlapping the line of the old east wall.

The fortification walls surrounding this area are evidently of two periods. The first of these (plan, pl. 72, fig. 2, II) included the area directly to the south of the Bala Hisar and a large area to the east which was abandoned in the later period, perhaps because it had already become marshy. This earlier city was surrounded by huge walls 5-6 m. in thickness, still standing in places to a height of 15 m. or more. These walls were built of sun-dried bricks of the characteristic square shape and large dimensions noted above in the early walls of the Bala Hisar. In places large deposits of river pebbles suggest that the wall was constructed of two faces of crude brick, filled between with pebbles and mud. The line of the eastern circuit may be traced with assurance from the fragments which still stand, in places half buried in sloping accumulations of debris. In many other places the eastern circuit wall has disappeared completely. With the later reorganization of the lower city the old east wall, left outside, became useless; no doubt it was used as a quarry for earth from which to make pisé or burned bricks. The west wall of this earlier city has likewise disappeared completely, with the exception of a stump at the southwest corner, and a small fragment still standing just to the north of it. There can be little doubt, however, that a wall of similar dimensions and construction once ran northward from this corner to the Bala Hisar, enclosing the lower town at the west. The moat which encircled the lower city may still be traced along the entire length of the south side, and at the south end of the east side. At the west it is perhaps represented today by a ditch in which runs a sluggish irrigation stream, but the west side is now too thickly planted with trees to afford any clear indications. In any case, in the later reorganization of the site this early west wall lay entirely within the new circuit and became not only useless but a definite encumbrance, dividing the enclosed area into two sections. Most probably it was taken down on purpose, and its material reused in the construction of the new walls.

The later phase of the lower city, which left out the eastern section of the older town, included a vast new area at the west to compensate (plan, pl.

⁶ Walls of the Islamic period were generally built of burned bricks, or of pisé in layers 50-60 cm. in height. The large square sun-dried bricks seem to be characteristic of

earlier times: bricks of this sort are found at Surkh Kotal (Kushan period).

72, fig. 2, III). The walls of this part are undoubtedly of Islamic date; they are much slighter than the walls of the earlier city, made of layered pisé to a height of six or seven meters, and strengthened at intervals by half-round towers on their outer face. These walls stand at the present ground level, without a trace of the earth embankment or accumulation so typical of the earlier walls. At the southwest corner of the earlier city the end of the Islamic wall runs up the sloping accumulation at the corner of the older wall; evidently this accumulation is earlier than the Islamic wall which rests on it (pl. 73, fig. 3). The entire western circuit belongs to the Islamic period, and may safely be disregarded by students interested in the earlier history of the site.

The east wall of the city, however, poses a different problem. The wall itself is of the same construction as that enclosing the new western addition—of layered pisé, with half-round towers on its outer face. It differs, however, in two respects: in places there is a sloping embankment of earth below it; and it follows an irregular curving line quite different from the layout of the western wall in straight stretches meeting at angles. The earth embankment is shown on the plan (pl. 72, fig. 2), in all three phases (I-III).⁷

Probably the curving line of the east Islamic wall represents a former course of the river Bactrus, or a branch which flowed through the lower city and fed the moat surrounding the Bala Hisar. The moat undoubtedly was filled by the river and therefore from the south; the east Islamic wall with its curving course may well have been built beside this river bank. The river—or a branch of it—must thus itself have served as an eastern moat to the Islamic city. The eastern section of the earlier town was abandoned at the same time, perhaps as

a result of flooding by the river. The pre-Islamic lower city was evidently surrounded by a moat, of which traces remain along the south side and at the southeast corner. Doubtless⁸ this earlier moat was filled by the river, and connected with the moat around the Bala Hisar. The line of the east Islamic wall may of course also represent an early river bed, which filled the moat around the Bala Hisar before there was any lower city.⁹ In a city which in both phases was surrounded by fortification walls laid out in long (or relatively short) straight stretches, it is difficult to interpret this unique curving section as representing anything but the course of the river which fed the moat.

The most prominent features of Balkh today are the Bala Hisar with its citadel, the Arg; the Tepe Zargaran at the east; and the western half of the south city wall, which was a part of the enclosure in both periods and which is one of the most impressive features of the modern landscape, stretching for more than half a mile, with the Islamic wall, about 6.50 m. in height, resting on an enormous embankment of earth about 15 m. above the surrounding level (pl. 73, fig. 3). Of these four prominent areas three have been investigated. In 1925 A. Foucher made a large trench on the Arg, going to a depth of 18 m. The upper layers of this trench to a depth of 10 m. were all of Islamic times, producing burnt brick. Since the height of the Arg above the level of the Bala Hisar is approximately 10 m., one is tempted to assume that the Arg itself is a late feature. Below 10 m. were found only "sherds of good red pottery" and arrow points of bronze; presumably these lower layers were pre-Islamic, but there is no indication as to how the pottery from them should be dated.⁹ The results of this dig would seem to be inconclusive, though there are indications that pre-Islamic layers may

⁷ On the plan, pl. 72, fig. 2, three phases of the city are represented. The earliest of these, I, includes only the area directly to the south of the Bala Hisar, enclosed at the south by the great embankment of earth beneath the south Islamic wall, at the east by the lesser embankment of the east Islamic wall. There is no trace of a western stretch. It has been the theory of earlier investigators of Balkh that these embankments may well represent the earliest phase of the fortification of the lower city. Since, however, our investigation of the accumulation below the south Islamic wall (see below) has shown that there was no early earthwork, and that this accumulation is merely debris from the disintegration of the walls themselves, I am inclined to conclude that the embankment at the east side of the Islamic city is also an accumulation of debris—probably from the disintegration of the pisé wall of Islamic times. If this interpretation is correct, the first phase (I) of the lower city on the plan vanishes, and there remain only the two phases discussed above—the pre-

Islamic lower city (II on the plan) and the Islamic city (III on the plan).

⁸ Strabo II. 516 says that the river "flows through" the city of Bactra. If this statement is to be accepted we cannot accept phase I of the plan, fig. 2, which would make the river the eastern boundary of the walled city—granting that the embankment beside its course may be an earthwork and not accumulated debris. In the second phase (plan, fig. 2, II) the river flows through the middle of the city, as required, but there is no evidence that the walls of this lower city can be carried back as early as the time of Strabo (see below).

⁹ Foucher, 98-112, "Les Fouilles de l'Arg." The objects from this trench which reached the Musée Guimet are listed in the succeeding volumes of Foucher: *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, Tome I—*La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. 2, 373-377 and pl. xxxiii.

exist beneath the Arg, safely covered by ten meters or more of Islamic debris.

In 1947 D. Schlumberger made a large number of sondages in various places at Balkh. Twelve were made in the Tepe Zargaran; thirty-eight on the Bala Hisar; four in the lower town near the gate through the south wall; and seven in various places near the center of the modern village.¹⁰ These are shown as dots on our plan, fig. 1. All but three were carried down to the virgin soil, or to water level. Again the results were inconclusive to the student of pre-Islamic Balkh. There were indications of pre-Islamic layers, perhaps Kushan or Sassanian, beneath the Tepe Zargaran;¹¹ from the Bala Hisar came one single sherd dated to Hellenistic times.¹²

Since the University Museum Expedition had neither the time nor the means to undertake a large trench on the Bala Hisar, an investigation of the south wall of the lower city seemed to hold out the best prospect for obtaining information on the history of the fortifications. One must assume that the Bala Hisar is the earliest part of the complex and that it was the nucleus to which later additions were made.¹³ The results of the many sondages already made, however, were discouraging to the making of anything but an extensive trench, big enough to yield reliable stratigraphic data on the Bala Hisar. The south wall, on the other hand, had never been investigated. The reputation of Bactra in ancient times, and the opinion of modern observers that traces of the Hellenistic fortifications might be buried beneath the enormous earth embankments, together suggested that the ancient capital of Bactria could have been extensive enough

to include the earlier phase of the lower city as well as the Bala Hisar.¹⁴ From a practical as well as a tactical point of view the west end of the south wall offered the best place to dig. Here, on the inner (north) side of the wall lay a field already harvested, whose owner had no objection to the encroachment of dump; on the outer side lay a field of ripening cotton, while farther to the east lay plantations of trees. From a tactical point of view it was desirable to dig as near as possible to the corner; the stump of the northward return, and a small section of the west wall still preserved, gave assurance that here lay the southwest corner of the pre-Islamic lower city. The enormous earth embankment beneath the Islamic wall, moreover, swelled out at its western end, suggesting that there had been a large tower at the corner.¹⁵ By making our sondage as near as possible to the corner we might hope to get not only stratigraphic evidence, but also some evidence for the tower. The remains of this tower seem to have been truncated in fairly recent times, when an open pavilion or kiosk was set on its stump, high above the surrounding countryside and affording a fine view over the site. The kiosk appears in pl. 73, fig. 4, with the stump of the west wall at the southwest corner immediately below it; our trench, 12 m. in width, lies to the left, at the point where the debris from the corner tower begins to rise to cover the inner face of the Islamic wall. Pl. 73, fig. 5 shows the trench from the west, cut down into the earth embankment and following downward the inner face of the wall.¹⁶

The Islamic wall is built mostly of crude brick, but patches of burnt brick and of pisé suggest that

¹⁰ *Syria* 26 (1949) 173-190.

¹¹ But Schlumberger has informed me by letter that he is now inclined to regard the Tepe Zargaran as a "faubourg Islamique." A member of the French Mission has restudied the pottery from the Balkh sondages, and it is to be hoped that a publication will follow. The Tepe Zargaran, with its heavy Islamic deposits, partly overlaps the line of the east wall of the earlier lower city; hence it is not shown on the plan, fig. 2, II. It would be interesting, and probably conclusive as to the date of the Tepe Zargaran, to make soundings for traces of the east wall buried beneath the Islamic fill.

¹² *Syria* 26 (1949) 187, fig. 16.

¹³ This is the normal course of events, with a lower town growing up around a fortified citadel. The fact that the moat originally ran completely around the Bala Hisar would seem to clinch the matter in this case.

¹⁴ Sir Mortimer Wheeler in *Archaeology from the Earth* (Oxford 1954) 89ff., advocates a great trench through the southern fortifications as the first step to be taken in a proper investigation of the site. There is a theory among modern observers that the Hellenistic cities of the east may well have

been like those of British India, consisting of a large ancient and sprawling native town, and a "cantonment" or "garden city" close by, in which the foreigners lived apart. Under such a theory one would seek the native city at Bactra in the Bala Hisar (no doubt garrisoned by the military) and the "cantonment" or foreign quarter in the lower town.

¹⁵ This swelling appears most clearly on the plan, fig. 2, I, which shows only the embankments without walls. There was also a tower here in Islamic times; the merest fragment of its wall still remains, projecting northward from the inner face of the Islamic wall.

¹⁶ The width of our trench along the face of the wall was, as noted, 12 m.; but as we went down into the sloping embankment its length outward from the wall face increased. At a depth of about 7 m. we stopped extending our trench outward, digging deeper only at the inner end, in front of the wall face. Steps were left for shoveling up the earth by stages, and a team of oxen with a scraper was hired to scrape the earth thus passed up to the edge of the dump, whence it ran down to the field below.

it has been repaired and renewed at various times. Along its exposed base runs a horizontal channel, no doubt eroded in the course of time by wind and rain. This channel may be seen in pl. 74, fig. 6, and also in the section, fig. 7, rising toward the right (west) and the corner tower. Immediately below the surface, which was baked fairly hard by the sun, we found on starting to dig a very soft loose fill which looked like disintegrated crude brick and pisé, with an occasional fragment of brick or chunk of pisé, and throughout complete or broken burnt bricks. This fill (labeled Islamic on the section, fig. 7) undoubtedly represented debris crumbled down at various times from the walls above. At the time of digging the stratification was not clear; the whole of layer I was riddled with Islamic graves. These were ordinary cist graves dug in the loose fill; occasionally one of them was lined, or partly lined, with burnt bricks. The skeletons had been placed with the heads toward the west; there were no grave offerings. In the face of the wall small niches had been scooped to contain the bodies of small children, whose skeletons were found in place (pl. 74, fig. 6; the niches are also shown in the section, fig. 7). These graves, which extended out to the full length of our trench, had so churned up the stratification that neither coins nor pottery could be counted upon for dating. It was evident, however, that the fill sloped not only from south to north, away from the wall, but also from west to east, away from the corner tower. An accumulation of debris falling from the wall at the south and from the tower at the west would naturally assume this slope. Layer I was somewhat thicker at the east than at the west; at the west and at a depth of 3 m. it cleared away over a layer of pale clay-like earth completely devoid of pottery or other fragments, and below the level of the graves. This clean layer was interpreted as disintegrated pisé, and it is so labeled on the section, fig. 7. Its surface also sloped from west to east; but layer II of pisé did not extend across the full width of our trench, and when dug it proved to be a wedge-shaped stratum about 1.50 m. in thickness at the west and tapering off to nothing at the east.

¹⁷ It is not my purpose here to discuss the dating of the Islamic walls of Balkh, nor do I have good evidence on which to do so. Indications might be obtained from the surface Islamic layer elsewhere along the wall at a place undisturbed by Islamic burials. The most important Islamic monuments of Balkh are of Timurid date, and so may be the Islamic fortifications. The enormous deposit of debris which completely buried the lower wall and the suggestion that its

The layer of pisé, then, had evidently been deposited from the west, and probably represents debris from the corner tower, which would seem to have been built of pisé.

Examination of the wall face below the surface showed, at the base of the Islamic wall, three layers of pisé each about 0.50 m. in height; the uppermost of these, exposed at the surface at the west, had been deeply eroded. Immediately below these layers lay a construction of crude brick, plastered at the surface with a layer of mud stucco. The bricks measured 0.36 to 0.38 m. in length, and about 0.10 m. in thickness, laid with clay or mud mortar between them. The construction appeared entirely different from the somewhat careless and patchy construction of the Islamic wall above, and it seemed likely that below the level of the bottom of the pisé layers we were clearing the face of an entirely different, and earlier, wall on which the Islamic fortification was bedded. Further clearing of the lower wall face proved this supposition to be true. The inner face of the Islamic wall is streaked in three places by vertical channels eroded in the surface by water running down the wall. These erosion channels extend down as far as the hollow eroded at the exposed base of the wall, and no farther. But at the level of the bottom of the three layers of pisé two similar vertical erosion channels begin in the face of the lower wall, and at entirely different places from the erosion channels in the face of the wall above; the channels in the faces of both walls show clearly in fig. 6, and are shown in fig. 7. The evidence of these channels proves conclusively that we are dealing with two walls, the lower and earlier of which was entirely covered up when the upper and later was exposed—else the upper erosion channels would have continued down the face of the lower wall. The three layers of pisé, moreover, must belong to the upper wall and form its base. The way in which the channels in the face of the lower wall suddenly begin below these pisé layers further suggests that the earlier wall had been levelled down to an even surface on which to bed the later.¹⁷

upper part was in such a state of dilapidation that it was necessary to level it down in order to bed the later wall on top of it, indicate a long period of desolation and neglect. If we assume a destruction by Genghis Khan early in the thirteenth century, a period of more than a century and a half of neglect followed until Timur or his successors, the first with both the inclination and the means to restore Balkh on the scale of the Islamic city.

At a depth of 4 m. below the surface¹⁸ we reached the bottom of the Islamic fill at the east, and of the pisé layer at the west. The fill changed completely to one of coarse gravel and river pebbles in which the stratification was quite clear, again sloping away from the wall (from south to north) and from the tower (west to east). The slope of the strata again suggested debris which had come down from the wall at the south and from the tower at the west; the gravelly character of the fill, like that noted in still extant parts of the earlier east wall, suggested that it had been a filling between parallel faces of pisé or crude brick. The pottery from the gravel layer (III) was almost entirely coarse and non-committal, but there were no sherds of Islamic faïence or vitreous glaze. This filling was evidently pre-Islamic; but since it was debris from the wall itself it may well have come down in a period of neglect during Islamic times. The most significant sherd was a fragment of a small bowl-shaped lamp with pinched nozzle and narrow in-turned rim, of buff clay and unglazed. Very similar lamps were found in the Buddhist monastery at Kunduz, which was presumably destroyed at the first coming of the Moslems in the seventh century.¹⁹ Five coins were found in this layer, all of bronze and in poor condition; they may be listed as follows:²⁰

- 1 and 2: Kanerkes, A.D. 87-106 (?); cf. *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 72, 2 and pl. xxxii, 14.
- 3: Late Kushan, imitation of Vasudeva; probably Siva and bull.
- 4: Kushano-Sassanian, illegible.
- 5: Peroz II, ca. A.D. 307-309; fire altar supporting full bust of Hormizd. Mint of Merv. Herzfeld no. 31.

The latest of these coins is thus early fourth century, the most identifiable sherd perhaps sixth or early seventh century. The gravel layer is evidently late, but pre-Islamic in content, though it may have accumulated early in Islamic times. Its depth was something over 5 m. Behind it the face of the earlier wall continued down, of brick covered with mud stucco. At a depth of 7 m. appeared the top of a shallow niche in the wall face; this proved to be .80 m. in width, .50 m. in depth into the wall,

and 2 m. high at the east side. The west side was somewhat higher; the niche was covered by a nearly flat arch, of which the west end lay slightly higher than the east (pl. 75, fig. 8). To the level of the floor of this niche the inner face of the wall was evidently bowed forward to form a narrow platform in front of it. To the west of the niche (right) a shallow groove or channel in the wall face slopes upward toward the west. The niche would seem to have served as a landing at the turning of a stair, at which people going up and down could pass. One assumes a wooden stair laid against the face of the wall, and coming up from below at the west, its end resting on the projecting platform in front of the niche. At the level of the niche it would seem to have reversed, running upward and westward, perhaps to a door in the second storey of the corner tower. Other than the upward-sloping groove in the wall face to the west of the niche there are no traces of any holes for use in fastening a wooden stair to the wall.²¹ Nevertheless, the only possible use for this niche and the shallow platform in front of it would seem to be as such a landing; and the way in which the arched top of the niche was unevenly set suggests a stair rising toward the west from the level of the niche.

At the level of the niche floor at the west the gravel of layer III cleared away over a surface of brown earth free of gravel, and sloping (as had all the layers above) downward from west to east as well as from south to north. The same surface of brown earth appeared also at the southeast corner of the cut, though at a somewhat lower level owing to the slope. Immediately to the east of the niche, however, the gravel fill went deep, evidently into a trench cut through the underlying brown fill. Here, too, appeared an irregular hole in the face of the wall, the gravel fill running into it. As we dug deeper in this gravel, it became evident that this hole lay at the top of an arched doorway; the crown of the arch had collapsed, but the spring of the arch was clear at the west side, and still barely perceptible at the east. The hollow of the archway was completely filled with the gravel; no crude bricks, or chunks of crude bricks adhering together, were found in the gravel, so that it seems

cussed this lamp with Dr. Schuyler Cammann. I have found none like it, e.g., at Taxila.

²⁰ They were identified by Miss Dorothy Cox.

²¹ The groove or channel in the wall face lay just at the level of the bottom of the gravel layer, and may have been a channel eroded at the bottom of the exposed wall, like that at the face of the Islamic wall above.

¹⁸ All measurements of depth were taken at the east side of our cut, the point where the accumulation of earth against the wall face begins to slope up toward the tower at the west. At this point the depth of the earth against the wall is 15 m. above the surface of the present fields to the north of the wall.

¹⁹ The results have not yet been published, but I have dis-

certain that the crown of the arch had fallen before the gravel accumulated. To east and west of the arched doorway the bottom of the gravel lay at about the level of the top of the arch; immediately in front, and inside the arch, the gravel went deep, down, in fact, to the level of the bottom of the doorway. Evidently the fill of brown earth, layer IV, had accumulated to the level of the top of the arch, as shown at either side; then a trench had been cut through it in front of the doorway. The gravel fill in this trench was identical with the gravel of layer III and must have accumulated, refilling the trench, at the same time as the deposition of layer III itself. The doorway proved to be 1.55 m. in width, and approximately 2.50 m. in height (exact measurement was difficult, since the crown of the arch had fallen). Its floor lay 13 m. below our starting point, or approximately 2 m. above the modern level of the field inside the city wall at the north. On clearing the gravel fill from inside the archway we found that the opening had been blocked by a wall of crude brick, which lay nearly 2 m. in from the face of the wall. Here the top of the arch was preserved, and it was possible to see its profile—a slightly pointed elliptical arch (section, pl. 74, fig. 7, and pl. 75, figs. 8-9). The bricks of the cross-wall which closed the arch were square and flat, somewhat less in size, though slightly greater in thickness, than those of the wall itself. At the bottom this later cross-wall had been broken through to give passage to a water channel; and therein lay the explanation of the deep trench cut through layer IV in front of the doorway—it had been made for the laying of the water channel. The channel itself, emerging from the doorway, curved eastward to disappear under the scarp at the east side of our cut; but in the scarp it was possible to discern quite clearly the trench cut through the brown earth to accommodate it, and filled with the gravel of layer III (something of this may be seen in pl. 75, fig. 9, at the left). The channel itself was 0.45 m. in width between parallel side walls roughly put together of various reused stones cemented with clay, and on an average 0.40 m. in depth. There was no cover. In the short stretch which we opened it was not possible to determine the direction of the flow of water, but that water had flowed in the channel was evidenced by a deposit of fine sand in its bottom, in places reaching a depth of 0.30 m. (figs. 8-9).

After clearing the gravel of layer III from the trench made for the water channel it was possible to go back and dig the deposit of brown earth, layer IV, at the west. As already noted, the surface of this layer sloped away from the wall and away from the tower, as had all the layers above; and the supposition was that it too had been deposited as debris falling from the wall at the south and from the tower at the west. On digging, the fill of layer IV again showed the same south to north and west to east inclination as in the upper layer, though it was not so obvious as in the gravel. The pottery from layer IV was obviously better, and earlier, than that from the gravel. Most characteristic were moulded bases of buff clay covered with red glaze (pl. 75, fig. 10; one of these, at the right, is from the pit at the bottom of our trench; see below). These recall the bases of bowls and the like of the early Roman sigillata ware; a parallel may be a beaker-shaped cup found on the Sirkap site at Taxila and probably to be dated in the first century after Christ.²² If we are correct in our interpretation of the stratification, layer IV and the pottery contained in it must have been deposited as debris from the fabric of the wall and tower, and these sherds must have been in the earth of which the wall was built. Another fragment from the same layer, the second definitely Hellenistic piece to be found in Balkh, is a small bowl with high base and flared lip, of typically Hellenistic shape and covered with good black glaze (pl. 75, fig. 11). The exaggerated height of the solid base suggests that it is a provincial product; nevertheless the model from which it was taken is evident.²³ This Hellenistic fragment was gratefully received as evidence of Hellenistic activities at Balkh—we now have two Hellenistic sherds, in addition to the coins!—but it was unfortunately found in a much later context. No coins were found in layer IV.

At 13 m. below our starting point, the level of the water channel and of the bottom of the arched doorway, the brown earth cleared away over a level floor of earth, tramped fairly hard at the surface (pl. 75, fig. 9). This floor, the first horizontal level found in the stratification and the first hard floor, was evidently the ground-level belonging with the arched doorway or postern through the wall. It was now possible to clean and photograph (fig. 9) the water-channel before taking it up in

²² John Marshall, *Taxila II* (Cambridge 1951) 416-417, no. 89 and III, pls. 124, no. 89 and 129, q.

²³ Hellenistic bowls of this type, e.g., *Hesperia* 3 (1934)

436, fig. 117, and profiles A 9, E 33. Unfortunately our pottery from Balkh was taken to the Kabul Museum before there was an opportunity to have profiles drawn.

order to dig deeper. Among the rough stones of which it was constructed were included eleven worked blocks of hard white limestone, obviously reused from some building which had been demolished. These included a voussoir block (pl. 76, fig. 12, face and profile, upper left and center; pl. 77, fig. 13); two pilaster bases of "Attico-Roman" type (pl. 76, fig. 12, lower left and center and pl. 77, fig. 14); four blocks of base moulding, of which two were of the same series, the other two of slightly different profile (pl. 76, fig. 12, right); and four ordinary squared blocks of which two faces were roughly finished, and a third worn, so that they would seemingly have been step-blocks. The pilaster bases, base mouldings, and step blocks represent the ultimate in stone architecture in the Far East as we now know it; building was done in crude brick and wood, and only the most elaborate public buildings, it would seem, were embellished with carved bases and mouldings. As an example of this limitation of the use of stone in architecture one may cite the fire temple at Surkh-Kotal.²⁴ The Jandial temple at Taxila was somewhat more elaborately made with Ionic columns of soft sandstone; the Top-i-Rustam stupa at Balkh itself was decorated with mouldings, bases, and pilasters of crude brick.²⁵ The somewhat debased "Attico-Roman" profile of our bases is comparable to, and probably contemporary with, that of the Surkh-Kotal bases, which are dated in the Kushan period and the second century A.D. Our late water channel, then, was constructed with blocks reused from a building which had been put up at Balkh in the second century. The most interesting and enigmatic of the stones built into it is, of course, the voussoir block, which raises the question of whether all of these blocks came from an architectural façade which had once decorated the arched postern itself. It was not possible to determine whether a single voussoir block fitted an arch of whose exact profile we were not certain. And for a simple façade in an arched doorway two types of pilaster bases and three different types of base moulding would seem to be superfluous.

After taking up the water channel we dug through the floor in front of the postern, going to a total depth of 16 m. below our starting point, or of one meter below the modern surface level to the north of the wall. At this depth our area for

digging had shrunk to very small size (due to the batter left in the scarps to east and west) and it seemed neither safe nor feasible to go deeper. In any case, somewhat to our surprise, we found that we had passed the level of the bottom of the wall, and that there was no trace of an earlier wall or earthwork beneath it. We cut back to a depth of more than a meter under the wall behind the line of its face, finding only the same earth that underlay the floor at the postern level. This was surprising in view of the fact that the surviving fragment of the west wall of the same period of the city goes down to (though hardly below) the modern surface level. Evidently the section of wall in the area in which our sondage was made had been built to pass over an already existing low mound of earth, about 2 m. in depth. The pottery from this mound, then—that is, from below the level of the bottom of the wall—must be earlier than the construction of the wall itself. For two meters (—13 to —15 m.) below the level of the earth floor the fill was of earth mixed with clay, and scattered throughout with ashes and cinders. At —15 m. the burning was localized at two points; these proved to be an oven or kiln, and beside it a round pit into which ashes from it had been thrown. Both stood to a height of about a meter; the oven had evidently been an underground one, made by digging a pit and lining it with a mixture of sand and clay, which subsequently became baked hard in a thin stucco-like layer against the sides of the pit. This oven, as far as could be made out, had consisted of an upper and a lower part—the lower for the fire, the upper for baking (pl. 74, fig. 7). The top had collapsed, so the exact arrangement could not be ascertained; nor was any trace found of a vent for the smoke. A small deposit of pottery was found in the bottom of the oven; from this it was possible to put together a pointed amphora with rolled lip and shoulder handles, with traces of a thin wash of reddish glaze over its surface (pl. 77, fig. 15), and a bowl covered with red glaze, similar to but more developed in shape than the Hellenistic bowl fragment (pl. 77, fig. 16; cf. pl. 75, fig. 11). Both of these are difficult to date, but would rest (in the west) most comfortably in the Early Roman Empire. With them was found one more moulded base covered with red glaze, of the same type as those found in layer IV (pl. 75, fig. 10, right; the others

²⁴ D. Schlumberger, "Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane," *JA* (1952) 433ff., and pls. III-V; also in *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 232-238, and especially figs. 7-10. The temple of

Jandial at Taxila: Marshall, *op.cit.* I, 222ff. and III, pl. 44.

²⁵ Foucher, 85-98, and especially fig. 20.

from layer IV). This in all probability is to be dated in the first century A.D.

We stopped work at the level of the bottom of the ash-pit and the kiln, three meters below the bottom of the wall. The pottery from the kiln gives us evidence on the dating of the great wall; it cannot be as early as the first century after Christ. Also, it had no predecessor—at least at this point; this area would seem to have been used for domestic or industrial, rather than for military, purposes before the building of the wall. One more piece of evidence was found which may bear on the date of the construction of the fortification wall of the lower city. Well in from the wall face in the arched postern and at the west side of the break where the crown of the arch had fallen we found a sherd wedged tightly between two bricks. On removal its impression was left quite clearly in the mud cement between the bricks, so that it seemed all but certain that the sherd had been included in the fabric of the wall when it was built. This sherd (pl. 77, fig. 17) is of coarse buff clay, from the shoulder of a large closed pot—amphora or the like—and decorated with matt black paint which had not been brushed on, but evidently splashed onto the surface of the vessel and allowed to trickle down. Four palmettes, and part of a fifth, evidently arranged in two horizontal rows one above the other, are preserved, stamped on the sherd. The stamps are flat at the bottom, arcuated above; the palmettes are so conventionalized as to resemble herringbone. Sherds with similar stamps were found by Schlumberger at Balkh on the Bala Hisar, the Tepe Zargaran, and in the sondages near the south gate.²⁶ Stamped pottery of this sort has generally been taken to belong to the Kushan period, but there now seems to be evidence for dating it later in the east.²⁷ In the west also a somewhat later dating would be more appropriate; the stamping is comparable to that of "Late Roman B and C" wares, dated late in the third and in the fourth centuries.²⁸ Evidence from east and west alike thus suggests that the sherd belongs to the Sassanian rather than to the Kushan period, and is probably to be dated in the fourth century. If it came into the position in which it was found when the wall was built,

then the wall cannot be earlier than the fourth century, and must be Sassanian.

Before summing up, two problems may be noted. We have remarked above that the late water channel lay at a level of —13 m., or two meters above the modern surface of the fields both inside the wall and outside. We have also observed that water actually flowed in it. Two alternatives are possible in explanation of this phenomenon: either the entire modern level lies 2 m. below the ancient, or the water channel was carried on an aqueduct of which all traces, both to north and to south of the wall, have disappeared. Since the former alternative is impossible (the west wall fragment goes down to the modern level) the latter must be the correct explanation. The aqueduct was undoubtedly of crude brick; and structures of crude brick, as we may see in long stretches of the eastern circuit, can disappear completely, leaving not a trace.

The second problem concerns the accumulation of debris under which the earlier wall was completely buried. The sloping stratification within it indicates that it is debris, fallen from the wall. For the Islamic wall perched on top this huge sloping embankment of earth no doubt served conveniently as a sort of *glacis* at the south; at the north, within the circuit, it can have been only an encumbrance. There is no point in building a wall, and then burying it in a huge sloping embankment of earth. One cannot help being astonished, however, at the magnitude of this embankment, 15 m. deep against the face of the wall (in our cut the lowest two meters were already there when the wall was built, so that the accumulation is actually 13 m. deep—4 m. of Islamic, layer I, and 9 m. of pre-Islamic, layers II-IV). The wall itself, 5-6 m. thick at the base, may well have stood originally to a height of 20 m. or more. During the long and stormy history of Balkh it may have been necessary to repair its upper part many times over. Even so the accumulation seems great. The manner of the accumulation is apparent, however, in pl. 77, fig. 18, a photograph in section where it has been cut through the fortification wall of Begram, showing quite clearly both faces of the crude-brick wall at the core of the mass, with a small accumulation of debris against its inner (left) face, a huge mass of fallen bricks and debris,

Begram (R. Ghirshman), pp. 69-70 and 99-100 (this publication was not available to me).

²⁶ *Syria* 26 (1949) 179 and fig. 10, p. 181.

²⁷ Mr. Schlumberger informs me by letter that no pottery of this type is found at Surkh Kotal, a Kushan site. On the other hand it appears in the latest levels at Begram—levels to be dated in Sassanian times. Cf. *JA* (1952) 445; *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* XII,

²⁸ *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 207, fig. 3 (B ware—late third and fourth centuries) and 209, fig. 4 (C ware—fourth century). See also *Tarsus* 1, 205 and figs. 163, F-G-H, and 164, A-B.

reaching to the full height of the wall itself, against its outer face. This wall is on a small scale compared to those of Balkh, and of crude brick throughout. Larger walls made with a gravel filling between parallel faces would disintegrate more easily, and supply a greater amount of loose debris to come down.

The history, in sum, of this section of the earliest fortification of the lower city at Balkh, would seem to have been as follows:

(1) A low mound of debris, to be dated probably in the second century A.D., already existed at this point in the line the wall was to take.

(2) The south wall of the lower city, necessarily as late as the second century, was built, bedded on the surface of this mound. To the west lay a great corner tower, probably with a door in its second storey approached by a wooden stairway coming up from the west and reversing its direction at the level of the niche, which served as a landing. Just to the east of this stairway (which was probably removable in time of danger) and flanked by the corner tower lay a small arched postern through the south wall. The fact that its floor level, on top of the preexisting mound, lay about 2 m. above the ground level within and without the city was probably all to the good, making it more easily defensible. Perhaps it led to a bridge over the south moat (the fact that a water channel was later laid through it indicates that this was a postern, not merely the doorway to a chamber in the thickness of the wall). If the second century (Kushan) architectural fragments could be fitted to a façade ornamenting this postern, we might date the original construction of the wall to the Kushan period. On the evidence of the sherd plucked from the fabric of the wall, however, it is safer to date the wall as probably Sassanian, possibly Kushan.

(3) The postern was bricked up, possibly in anticipation of the invasion of the Ephthalite Huns in the fifth century.

(4) A period of neglect and decay (in the wake

of the Ephthalite invasion?) during which layer IV accumulated to the height of the top of the postern.

(5) A trench dug through layer IV, and the brick wall blocking the postern broken through for the laying of a water channel. The sand deposit in its bottom suggests that the channel must have been in use for some years.

(6) Final abandonment, and accumulation of layer III, which filled the trench of the water channel, then accumulated against the wall to a depth of over 5 m. Latest coin early fourth century; latest sherd (lamp fragment) sixth or early seventh. Abandonment perhaps due to Moslem invasion.

(7) In the Islamic period, and possibly in the reign of Timur or his successors, the walls rebuilt. East section of old lower city abandoned, west section added. At the south the old wall leveled down to an even bed on which to set the Islamic wall.

In conclusion, one feels that Balkh has been examined, but that Bactra remains elusive. We have two sherds, one from the Bala Hisar, one from the south wall, to show that the Greeks were there; but the entire lower city would now seem to have been of times subsequent to the Euthydemid Kingdom. One is tempted to feel, as did Foucher (p. 35) that "*Bactres porte un nom si puissamment évocateur, si chargé d'histoire, si auréolé d'espérances, qu'on se refuse à admettre la possibilité d'une déception au moment même qu'on l'éprouve.*" It is quite possible that the ancient reputation of Bactra has made us exaggerate its size, if not its importance. The Bala Hisar, the oldest part and the nucleus of the whole, is by itself equal in area to the Bhir Mound at Taxila, about twice the size of the lower city at Priene, and about three times as big as the mound at Gordion. It must be nearly ten times as big as the mound of Troy, a city itself not entirely without reputation!

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
PHILADELPHIA

Two Etruscan Mirrors in San Francisco

MARIO A. DEL CHIARO

PLATES 78-81

THE two engraved Etruscan bronze mirrors¹ shown in figures 1 and 2 (pl. 78) have recently come into my possession. They are both of the familiar tanged type, once provided with handles of a different material, usually perishable. The rims of both mirrors are curved up to form a hollow on the reverse, or principal engraved side, in a manner that is characteristic for Etruscan mirrors of the fourth century B.C. and later. Mirror No. 1 (pl. 78, fig. 1) has a chalky, light greenish-brown patina, whereas in mirror No. 2 (pl. 78, fig. 2) the patina is a bluish-green. In both specimens, the surface is quite lustrous except for some patches of efflorescence. There are no restorations, but there are some cracks, and, as a protection against further damage or possible loss of the broken portions, adhesive tape has at some time been applied to the reflecting sides of both mirrors. Mirror No. 2 is in a far better state of preservation than mirror No. 1. On these, as on many other bronze mirrors,² there is a small depression or hollow at the center of the engraved side.

On each of the two mirrors the figured scene on the engraved side represents two male figures, characterized as warriors by their attributes, confronting each other as they half-sit upon, half-lean against, their shields. On mirror No. 1, both warriors are completely nude, but each of them has a spear which rises vertically behind the inside, or far, shoulder. The figure at the left appears to be holding his spear near the tip in his left hand; whereas the warrior at the right was presumably meant to be shown holding his spear in his right hand, although in fact it is not at all clear that he is actually grasping the spear. In each case the outer, or near hand appears to be grasping—or at least

resting on—the rim of the shield. The scene is encircled by an ivy wreath, and at the base, above the tang, there is a voluted palmette design. On mirror No. 2, a closely similar scene is represented: two nude warriors; two shields; but only one spear, held by the left-hand figure. Again there is a palmette—this time “framed” or “enclosed”—at the base of the picture area.

On both specimens the mirror side has, as usual, no engraving in its main reflecting area. Around the edge of this field there is in each case a tongue pattern, but the vertical face of the rim is smooth and plain, not beaded as in some examples.³ At the base of the disk, and just above the tang, there is a palmette scroll, of quite similar form on both mirrors, and like those correspondingly placed on the reverses (see above).

These two mirrors, closely similar in subject matter and composition, go so well together that they may be properly studied as a pair in the larger context to which they belong. It is clear, however, from numerous differences in style, that they cannot be the work of one engraver. The heads of the warriors shown on the two San Francisco mirrors are treated quite differently by their respective artists. Both artists show a peculiar, low browline as a characteristic feature of the heads. In No. 1 the heads seem odd because of the high placing of the huge, cyclopean eyes above the ridge of the nose, practically in the middle of the forehead. The short upper lip of the left-hand warrior on No. 1 gives a curious hare-lipped look to the mouth. This warrior has a fuzzy growth along the jawbone, perhaps to represent him as an older person than his companion.⁴ I doubt whether the gesture of the right-hand warrior, finger to mouth, is a deliberate at-

¹ The two mirrors were purchased by Rev. Fr. Luigi Sciocchetti as a pair from a dealer in Rome in March 1924. The provenience was given on the label “Dagli scavi della Necropoli di Marsciano (Grosseto).” This study was originally submitted as a Thesis for the M.A. degree at the University of California at Berkeley. I am indebted to Sir John Beazley, whose close examination of the mirrors at first hand convinced him that both are genuine. My thanks are due to Professor H. R. W. Smith and Professor D. A. Amyx for their help and advice during the preparation of this paper. The dimensions of the mirrors are as follows: Mirror No. 1 (fig. 1): horizontal width, 0.164 m.; height, including tang, 0.222 m.; thickness

of mirror disk, 1.000 mm. Mirror No. 2 (fig. 2): horizontal width, 0.158 m.; height, including tang, 0.228 m.; thickness of mirror disk, 1.000 mm.

² In my preliminary study of the mirrors, I was somewhat puzzled by the presence of these depressions. Meanwhile, through wider acquaintance with original material, I have learned that the indentations were certainly created by a lathe device during the manufacture of the mirrors.

³ Compare, for example, Berkeley, University of California Museum of Anthropology 8/3862: *AJA* 50 (1946) 61, fig. 1.

⁴ A figure similarly posed with indications of a fuzzy growth along the chin can be seen on a mirror in Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5,

tempt of the artist to show profound thought or awe on the part of this younger warrior at the words of his older companion at arms. Rather, this is an error in drawing, as can best be demonstrated by comparing the position of this hand with the same hand gesture on other mirrors of this class.⁶ We see, then, that his hand was meant to grasp the spear (see above), which here appears to stand upright, unaided.⁶

The left-hand warrior on mirror No. 2 has his spear-bearing hand similarly placed and in the same attitude as that of the hare-lipped warrior. The shield-holding hands of the warriors on mirror No. 2 are stiffer in execution than the more limp, rubbery fingers of the corresponding hands in mirror No. 1. The hair of both warriors on mirror No. 1 is represented by crescents facing to the left or to the right in three distinct layers. The hair of the figures in No. 2 is more simply drawn. The contour of the cranium is defined by long sweeping strands of hair terminating in several curls at the back of the neck.

The profiles of the warriors in mirror No. 2 are treated differently from those in mirror No. 1: the line from brow to nose is straight without any indentation at the bridge of the nose. The artist seems to have lost control of this line in the face of the right-hand warrior, where it turns sharply to form the mouth, thus omitting the upper lip and resulting in a peculiar expression. Collar bones are engraved on only one warrior in each mirror, the left-hand warrior in mirror No. 1, and the right-hand warrior in mirror No. 2. In both cases this detail is rendered by one continuous line from the right to the left shoulder dipping into a "V" at the center to indicate the sternum. The ear of the hare-lipped warrior on mirror No. 1 is peculiar in shape and treatment, and recalls a similarly executed ear on a mirror reproduced in Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 9, 1 on the right-hand figure.

The abdominal muscles at either side of the central vertical line running from the navel to the pectoral muscles are rendered differently in each mirror. The fleshy portion of the abdomen is indi-

cated by two short, horizontal, parallel lines directly above the navel. This treatment is not unique but occurs on several mirrors with similar subjects (e.g., pl. 80, fig. 6).⁷ The lines of the groins of both warriors in mirror No. 1 are rendered similarly, as a continuous line from one hip to the other. This is not the case with mirror No. 2, in which the groin line is indicated only on the farthest hip of each warrior. The omission of this line on the near hip gives a greater feeling of height and slenderness to the figures. The left knee of the left-hand warrior in mirror No. 1 is higher than that of the corresponding figure in No. 2, consequently the left foot is also higher. The line of incision at the left heel of this figure brings the left foot out into the frontal plane and pushes the right leg into the rear plane, thus giving this warrior the appearance of crossing his legs. The placement of the feet in mirror No. 1 is practically the same as in mirror No. 2.

Both our mirrors are engraved with ivy pattern extending around the circumference of the disk and completely enclosing the main design. This pattern has a similar treatment on both mirrors. A main stem springs from one side of the palmette motif at the exergue, and ends at the opposite side of the palmette after having followed a sinuous course around the mirror. Short branches topped with a heart-shaped ivy leaf sprout from the main stem with an alternation to right and left between each meandering curve of the main sprig. As a result of having placed his figures slightly off center to the right, the artist of mirror No. 1 felt obliged to fill in the unused space on the left with an extra strip of ivy, arranged somewhat haphazardly.

The floral pattern runs uninterruptedly around the disk in mirror No. 2. This rendering differs quite conspicuously from mirrors in which the pattern commences from either side of the exergue motif and runs up both sides of the disk simultaneously, meeting at the top center of the mirror. In some instances of this latter type the artist has tied the branches together with a fillet (pl. 80, figs. 6, 7, and pl. 81, fig. 13),⁸ a cross-hatched section,⁹ or

pl. 56. Henceforth Gerhard *ES* refers to E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. 1 (Berlin 1843); Vol. 2 (Berlin 1845); Vol. 3 (Berlin 1863); Vol. 4 (Berlin 1865). Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5 will refer to E. Gerhard, A. Klügmann and G. Körte, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. 5 (Berlin 1884-1897).

⁶ *Museo Vaticano, Museo etrusco gregoriano* (Parte Prima) (1842) ed. A, pl. xcv, fig. 2; Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, 5 (here, fig. 10); Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 128.

⁷ This curious error may be seen also in Gerhard *ES* 1, pl.

XLIX, 4. Another mirror of our class has a gesture of the right hand to the mouth, but no spear is visible: Beazley and Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (henceforth *Raccolta Guglielmi*) pl. 52, fig. 12 (here, fig. 5). See also *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6.

⁸ *Raccolta Guglielmi*, pl. 52, fig. 12 (here, fig. 5); Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, 1, 3, and 6; The Walters Art Gallery 54.1164 (here, fig. 4).

⁹ Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, 4 and 6; Gerhard *ES* 2, pls. CXXXIX

some other device.¹⁰ Mirror No. 1 has its ivy pattern running up both sides of the disk from the exergue motif, except for the slight jumbling of the ivy "filler" to the left of the figures. At the point of contact of this decoration at the top of the disk, none of the usual binding features mentioned above is used to form a neater juncture, but this area has been treated in the same erratic manner as the "filler" at the left.

There is another difference between the two ivy wreaths. This is seen in the ivy leaf itself. In mirror No. 1, the ivy leaves all point upward in relation to the contour of the rim, whereas those in No. 2 point alternately inward and outward, roughly at right angles to the rim. The exergue motif on both mirrors is a palmette: voluted or lyre-like in No. 1,¹¹ enclosed in No. 2.¹² This latter type appears in several mirrors engraved with similar subjects (see pl. 81, figs. 10 and 11).

The artist of our mirror No. 2, whom we may call the San Francisco Engraver, has decorated at least one other mirror of the same class, a specimen now in the Cairo Museum (Acc. no. 27.902, here pl. 79, fig. 3).¹³ This mirror in Cairo is also of the tanged type with bent rim, but it has slightly smaller dimensions than our mirror No. 2. The subject is again closely similar to that on our mirror No. 2. The ivy pattern is rendered in the same manner on both mirrors with ivy leaves pointing alternately inward and outward between the curves of the main stem. The exergue motif from which the floral decoration springs is not an enclosed palmette, as in our mirror No. 2. Instead it is a lyre-type palmette, much more elaborate than that of mirror No. 1 but basically of the same type.

The warriors of our No. 2 and those of the Cairo mirror have practically the same composition within the disk, except for some details. On the Cairo mirror, there is no spear for the left-hand warrior, and his weaponless left arm hangs limp at the far side of his thigh. The right-hand warrior is also spearless, and his right arm hangs at his side, very much like the corresponding figure in our mirror No. 2. The position of the hands on the shields has slight variations on both mirrors. Both

shields tilt at the same angle, and all have the same proportionate space between inner and outer incision. The feet, in both cases rendered in the same crude manner, are almost identically situated except for the right foot of the right-hand warrior, which on the Cairo mirror is in front of the foot of his companion.

The indication of ground-lines has been developed further on the Cairo mirror. A landscape is also suggested by the insertion at the right, between ivy pattern and warrior, of a rock-like projection crowned with some form of vegetation. There is also a flower-like object between the heads of the figures, but it does not seem to be part of the vegetation. It is instead, quite possibly, a degeneration of the star which we find on other mirrors of the same class, to be discussed below (p. 283).

The profile of the left-hand figure has the same bird-like contours as the corresponding figure on mirror No. 2. The profile of the right-hand figure, however, differs considerably from the corresponding figure in No. 2, but the difference is understandable, for the loss of the upper lip on this latter figure was accidental. The eyes are incised similarly. The hair of the warriors on the Cairo mirror is treated almost exactly as on the San Francisco mirror; this likeness (along with the similar rendering of the general proportions of the bodies) seems to serve as the engraver's signature. The ears, where visible, also have the same shape on both mirrors.

The omission of the groin lines of the near hips of both warriors is matched in our mirror No. 2. Note also the contour line from neck to right elbow on the left-hand warrior, with the graceful dip at the deltoid. The subtle wriggling of the line from the left armpit to the genitals on this same figure is echoed in the Cairo mirror. Again the harmonious sweep of the incised line from the groin to the left knee is duplicated, as well as the muscular bulge of the inner right thigh with the two close bumps at the knee.

The abdominal region has the same treatment, but with a few minor variations which are stylisti-

and cxxx; Gerhard *ES* 3, pl. ccliv, 2; Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 128, 1.

⁹ Boston Museum of Fine Arts 92.2740: *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6.

¹⁰ The ends of the ivy do not meet but stop short of joining as in Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. xciv, 2.

¹¹ The lyre-like palmette appears in other mirrors of our class, but in looser form: see Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. lxx, 4 (here,

fig. 13); Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 9, 1.

¹² *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6.

¹³ First published in C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire—Greek Bronzes* (1904), pl. xviii, no. 27.902. Diameter of the disk, ca. 14 cm. I wish to thank the Directors of the National Museum in Cairo for the new photograph of the mirror.

cally irrelevant. The left-hand warriors of the San Francisco mirror No. 2 and the Cairo mirror show the two nipples of the chest placed normally. The left-hand warrior of the San Francisco mirror No. 2 has one nipple only, while the corresponding figure on the Cairo mirror shows one nipple placed, oddly enough, at the left biceps—an excellent illustration of the carelessness and indifference often displayed by some engravers of Etruscan bronze mirrors.

The right-hand warrior on the Cairo mirror does not rest on his shield as securely as his counterpart on the San Francisco mirror No. 2. This feature, along with the complete absence of spears, and the addition of a ridiculous landscape element at the right of the figures on the Cairo mirror, present the only notable differences between the two mirrors. The comparisons already given are only an incomplete indication of the identity of style which proves these two mirrors to have been engraved by the same artist, the San Francisco Engraver. Convincing parallels of the same kind could be multiplied.

There are two other mirrors of the class represented by the San Francisco mirrors which are so close together stylistically that both appear to have been engraved by a single artist, whom I shall call the Baltimore Engraver, after the hitherto unpublished Etruscan mirror no. 54.1164 in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland (pl. 79, fig. 4).¹⁴ The second mirror (pl. 80, fig. 5) was first published in *Raccolta Guglielmi*, pl. 52, fig. 12, and I shall refer to this mirror as the Vatican mirror. The Vatican mirror, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Collection Guglielmi A, 42, has been attributed to the "Maestro dei Dioscuri affrontati" by G. A. Mansuelli (*StEtr* 19, 55, no. 11), an attribution which will be discussed below (pp. 281).

From the scenes on the Baltimore and the Vatican mirrors, and from their general stylistic quality, we can see that they must both belong to the San Francisco Group of Etruscan mirrors. They seem close in style to the first of the San Francisco mirrors (pl. 78, fig. 1), though not close enough to be the work of the same engraver. The figures are shown in the half-seated posture, apparently conversing and exhibiting the variants known to occur on other mirrors of this class. The figures are nude, except for the mantles worn by both warriors on the Vatican mirror, and by the left-hand warrior

on the Baltimore mirror. The vertical incision running down from the armpit of the right-hand warrior on the Baltimore mirror no doubt indicates a mantle which the engraver thoughtlessly failed to complete at the shoulders. The object between the figures on the Baltimore mirror is puzzling; it may be an abbreviation for the equally puzzling "whip-lash" object on the Vatican mirror.

The exergue patterns on both mirrors are essentially similar, although more crudely executed on the Vatican mirror. There is a conspicuous difference between the two mirrors in the choice of the leafy garland surrounding the figures. The Baltimore mirror shows a laurel pattern, the Vatican mirror an ivy pattern which recalls that on Boston Museum of Fine Arts, no. 92.2740.¹⁵ The Vatican mirror, however, shows a fillet at the top center, rather than the small, cross-hatched section as on the Boston mirror.

With respect to the treatment of the feet, there is a drastic dissimilarity. On the Vatican mirror, the feet as well as the toes have been indicated, but on the Baltimore mirror no feet are shown. I believe this negligence is consistent with the artist's general indifference and carelessness as to details, as is shown by the omission of the tie of the mantle for the right-hand warrior on the Baltimore mirror, as well as the abrupt termination of the right arm just above the wrist for this same figure. The left foot of the left-hand warrior could have been engraved in the available space if the artist had desired. The gestures of the warriors show the expected variations. For example, the hand-to-mouth attitude, already encountered on one of the San Francisco mirrors, appears on the Vatican mirror, but not on the Baltimore mirror.

Although the body of the left-hand warrior on the Vatican mirror is obscured by damage, the head of this warrior and the complete figure of his companion will suffice to indicate many close similarities in style which will show the engravings on the Baltimore and Vatican mirrors to be products of one hand. The treatment of the hair and the variation between the two warriors on one mirror is repeated in the second mirror. The eyes are characteristic: three lines and a complete circle. The similarity of the profiles for the left-hand warriors is particularly close except for the long line for the mouth, which tends to give an entirely different expression to the face, but if one notes instead the

¹⁴ I wish to thank Miss Dorothy K. Hill, Curator of Classical Art for The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, for her

kind permission to publish the mirror in this paper.

¹⁵ *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6.

similarity in the lines of the two profiles, the likeness becomes quite obvious.

The pattern formed by the short horizontal line and the diagonal pectoral muscles at the center of the chest, resembling an Alpha, appears on all the warriors. All four of the warriors show a groin line which links one hip with the other, and not treated as on the warriors of the San Francisco mirror No. 2 and the Cairo mirror, where the groin line is omitted on one side of the figures. On both the Baltimore and the Vatican examples, the artist has neglected to indicate genitals in all four figures. Because of the better state of preservation of the right-hand warrior on the Vatican mirror, the following stylistic comparisons apply mainly to him. The rendering of the abdominal section reveals that the central vertical line does not intersect the two short horizontal lines just above the navel. The nipples of the chest appear only on the Baltimore mirror. The extremely flat treatment of the buttocks is characteristic on both mirrors. The right legs are so alike in shape that they would almost prove congruent if one were superimposed upon the other. Likewise, the agreement in the contours of the shield arms of the two figures is so close that it does not require further description. Note also the sharp turn into the palm of the shield-hand on the two mirrors.

The mantles of the left-hand warriors, except for the knot at the throat on the Vatican mirror, are engraved almost identically on the two mirrors. The lower portion of the mantle forms a straight line at the shoulders. The right-hand warrior on the Vatican mirror shows a knotted mantle, but the corresponding warrior on the Baltimore mirror, as noted earlier, is without the mantle except for the vertical incision below the armpit, which shows that a mantle was intended. I believe that these stylistic similarities between the Baltimore and the Vatican mirrors justify the attribution of both to one artist, whom we may call the Baltimore Engraver.

The two San Francisco mirrors, and the three other pieces discussed above in connection with them, belong to a larger group showing much the

same kind of subject matter—and many similarities of style—in their engraving. For convenience, we may call this lot the "San Francisco Group." In assembling the members of the group for special investigation, I have (perhaps somewhat arbitrarily) limited my study to those examples which have as subject two confronted, half-seated male figures. That the same style extends to mirror-engravings of more than two figures is obvious,¹⁶ but an extension of my research into this material would have led to a much larger task. In the two-figured scenes, the characters appear to be engaged in meaningless conversation, much in the manner of the "mantle-figures" on the reverses of a great many Attic and South Italian vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

G. A. Mansuelli, whose extensive studies of Etruscan bronze mirrors have appeared at intervals in *Studi Etruschi*, has already assembled a number of specimens belonging to the Group, and has observed their similarity in subject matter and style. Yet, in spite of their close likeness—which must indeed point to their origin in a common workshop—I do not see that the eleven mirrors attributed by Mansuelli to his "Maestro dei Dioscuri affrontati"¹⁷ can be by one hand. In fact, there are differences of detail in their execution which, in my opinion, offer convincing evidence to the contrary.¹⁸ Likewise, I am not convinced of the unity of hand in the engravings of the three pieces which Mansuelli gives to another artist, the "Maestro di ES CCXXVIII."¹⁹ All of these mirrors are, however, examples of the type which characterizes the "San Francisco Group." Following is a list of the mirrors known to me, which are, for the purpose of this paper, included within the Group:

1. The San Francisco Mirror No. 1 (here, pl. 78, fig. 1)
2. The San Francisco Mirror No. 2 (here, pl. 78, fig. 2)
3. Cairo, Cairo National Museum, no. 27.902 (here, pl. 80, fig. 3)
C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire—Greek Bronzes* (1904) pl. xviii, no. 27.902
4. Baltimore, Maryland, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1164 (here, pl. 80, fig. 4)

¹⁶ Compare mirrors such as those in Gerhard ES 1, pls. LV and CIV; Gerhard ES 2, pls. CCI, CCIII, and CCV.

¹⁷ "Maestro dei Dioscuri affrontati," *StEtr* 19 (1946-47) 55.

¹⁸ Contrast, for example, Mansuelli's "Maestro dei Dioscuri affrontati" *ibid.* no. 2 and no. 4 (Gerhard ES 1, pl. XLIX, 2 and 4). From the line drawings which reproduce these mirrors, a marked difference in style is immediately evident. Note the

differences in the proportions of the bodies depicted on one mirror with those on the other mirror; the totally different profiles; such details as seen in the treatment of the hair or the abdominal muscles. A comparison of other pieces in Mansuelli's list reveals similar discrepancies.

¹⁹ "Maestro de ES CCXXVIII," *StEtr* 19 (1946-47) 59, nos. 4, 6, and 7.

5. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Collection Guglielmi A, 42 (here, fig. 5)
Beazley and Magi, *Raccolta Guglielmi*, pl. 52, fig. 12
Mansuelli, "Maestro dei Dioscuri affrontati," *StEtr* 19 (1946-47) 55, no. 11
6. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, fig. 1
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 2
7. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, fig. 2 (here, pl. 80, fig. 6)
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 2
8. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, fig. 4
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 4
9. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, fig. 5 (here, pl. 81, fig. 10)
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 5
10. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLIX, fig. 6
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 6
11. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. L, fig. 3
12. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. L, fig. 4
13. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LI, fig. 1
Mansuelli, "Maestro di ES CCXXVIII," *StEtr* 19 (1946-47) 59, no. 6
14. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LI, fig. 2
Mansuelli, *ibid.*, no. 7
15. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LI, fig. 3 (here, pl. 81, fig. 12)
16. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LI, fig. 4 (here, pl. 81, fig. 13)
Mansuelli, *op.cit.* 55, no. 7
17. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LIII
18. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LIV, fig. 1 (here, pl. 80, fig. 8)
19. Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. CXXVIII (here, pl. 80, fig. 7)
Mansuelli, *op.cit.* 59, no. 4
20. Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. CXXIX
21. Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. CXXX
22. Gerhard *ES* 3, pl. CCLIII (here, pl. 80, fig. 9)
23. Gerhard *ES* 3, pl. CCLIII A, fig. 1
24. Gerhard *ES* 3, pl. CCLIV, fig. 2
Mansuelli, *op.cit.* 55, no. 8
25. Gerhard *ES* 4, pl. CCXCVII, fig. 2
Mansuelli, *ibid.* no. 9
26. Gerhard *ES* 4, pl. CCCXC, fig. 2
27. Gerhard *ES* 4, pl. CDX, fig. 2
28. Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 8, fig. 1
29. Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 128, fig. 1
Mansuelli, *op.cit.* no. 10
30. Gerhard-Körte *ES* 5, pl. 129, fig. 1
31. *ibid.*, pl. 129, fig. 2
32. *ibid.*, pl. 130, fig. 1
33. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Sala III, L, 25
Museo Vaticano, Museo etrusco gregoriano (*Parte Prima*) (1842) ed. A (for edition: see A. Klugmann in *AZ* 37 [1879] 34-36), pl. xcv, fig. 2 (here, pl. 81, fig. 11)
34. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 92.2740 *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6

There are many variations on the scene which is engraved on our mirrors. Two main types may, however, be observed: one with winged, e.g., no. 33, above (pl. 81, fig. 11), the other with ordinary, wingless figures, e.g., no. 9, above (pl. 81, fig. 10).

And, although heroic nudity is the rule, we also find figures in full armor, e.g., no. 22, above (pl. 80, fig. 9), or partly armed, with only helmet or greaves, e.g., no. 18, above (pl. 80, fig. 8). There are also cases in which, as in the Baltimore and Vatican examples, nos. 4 and 5, above (pl. 79, fig. 4, pl. 80, fig. 5) one or both of the figures wears a mantle. The winged type is further varied by representing one of the two figures without wings, e.g., nos. 15 and 16, above (pl. 81, figs. 12 and 13). Besides these major variations of the type, there are also many smaller differences, as in the assignment or denial of spear or shield to one or the other warrior, e.g., no. 9, above (pl. 81, fig. 10). Sometimes both figures are unarmed, e.g. no. 10, above. These variations on a theme well illustrate the almost inexhaustible variety which is possible in depicting such a pair of stock figures, by the mere distribution of accessories or the transportation of details in the pose from one figure to another.

There is as much variety in the garland which often encircles this subject as there is in the representation of the figures. Many mirrors of our class have an ivy decoration or a combination of ivy and berry, e.g. nos. 20 and 29. But there are cases in which a laurel or olive wreath, e.g., no. 4, above (pl. 79, fig. 4), and no. 6, above, occurs instead of the ivy pattern, and sometimes this encircling decoration is omitted altogether, e.g., nos. 18 and 22, above (pl. 80, figs. 8 and 9).

The subjects engraved on the mirrors of the San Francisco Group seem in general to defy interpretation. The absence of distinctive attributes in most of these engravings makes it practically impossible to attach any specific meaning to the figures so weakly characterized as those on the San Francisco, the Cairo, and the Vatican mirrors. Nevertheless, through the attributes which appear in some of the scenes, possible interpretations can be suggested in a few cases. For some of these subjects, identifications have already been proposed, as will be seen; and it is tempting at times to carry these identifications further, and apply them to scenes in which these attributes do not appear.

One approach toward interpretation of our scenes leads through a different lot of two-figured mirror- engravings. Scenes of this latter type, although the two figures lean against their shields in an attitude quite different from that which is characteristic on our mirrors, may nevertheless be related in subject to the mirrors of the San Francisco Group. The figures lean outward much more precariously than

our warriors, for though the pose is upright the figures themselves are arranged diagonally, so that together they form a V-shaped composition. Most of these figures are represented with their arms folded behind their backs, and have the rather amusing look of performing some sort of folk dance. Their sex is clearly male, on the evidence of two mirrors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,²⁰ of which one is undoubtedly a debased copy of the other. The copy has figures whose sex may be doubtful, but on the other mirror the corresponding figures are nude and masculine. Often the mirrors of this type have engraved, between the two figures, some further objects, such as circles,²¹ or a suggestion of architecture,²² or marks having the appearance of stars.²³ This last element is important as a possible link between this whole class and that represented by the San Francisco Group, for a star between the two figures is also found on several mirrors of our class (pl. 80, fig. 6; see also Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. LI, 1). I believe the generally accepted identification of the two figures as the Dioskuroi is apt, certainly in the case of mirrors with stars between the warriors.²⁴

Another possible mythological interpretation is suggested by mirrors closely related to our class on which one of the figures is Herakles wearing the lion-skin and holding his club. On one such mirror, fortunately, he is labeled *BEDC*VE, and his companion is inscribed *Σ/Ι* (pl. 80, fig. 7).²⁵ Other mirrors with Herakles have as his companion Hermes, whose identification is clear from the caduceus and winged petasos.²⁶ A notable feature on some mirrors which depict Herakles, to-

gether with one or more companions, is the presence of an overturned amphora at the hero's feet (pl. 80, fig. 7).²⁷ A mirror in Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxx shows Herakles and Hermes together, but no amphora is visible.

The presence of an overturned amphora at the feet of Herakles raises further problems of interpretation. Does this amphora symbolize a specific location such as a spring or running stream, in a form of symbolism which is common in Roman pictorial reliefs?²⁸ There is only one example known to me which has the necessary water gushing from the mouth of the amphora to make this interpretation likely (Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxxi, here pl. 81, fig. 15). Perhaps in this case the amphora has a mythological connotation; if so, the matter needs no elaboration here, for Mansuelli has dealt very thoroughly with the representations of Herakles and amphora in his discussion of a mirror in Bologna.²⁹ Mansuelli also gives a helpful list of the numerous and varied representations of this subject, with special attention to Etruscan monuments.

It appears that the subject was especially prevalent in Etruscan art of the fourth century. All of the many versions noted by Mansuelli seem at first impression to be closely related, but Mansuelli's careful and exhaustive study has shown notable differences among them. He believes that all versions may have originated in Greece in the fifth century B.C., and that the subject may represent the "Baths of Herakles," strengthened by the appearance of the deity, Athena, with Herakles at the fountain on the Bologna mirror.³⁰

Just as in the case of the stars, the amphorae on

²⁰ G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Metropolitan Museum*, 283, figs. 818 and 819.

²¹ Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLV, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 9.

²² *ibid.*, pl. XLVII, 1-7.

²³ *ibid.*, pl. XLVI, 2, 4, and 5; pl. XLVIII, 1 and 2.

²⁴ The association of stars and the Dioskuroi is also encountered in vase-painting as in an Apulian volute-krater in Munich (FR, pl. 90; also E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* III, 353, no. 795). Although these stars are used quite freely with other subjects in Apulian vase-painting of Beazley's "A.P. Group" (*JHS* 63 [1943] 91, note 5) there can be no doubt in this case that they are meant specifically as attributes of Kastor and Polydeukes. See A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I, Sections VI and VII, pp. 1170-1177, s.v. Dioskouron. Coins of Tyndaris, named after the Dioskuroi, show two stars over a riderless horse (*ZNum* 3 [1876] pl. 1, fig. 4). For other coins showing attributes of the Dioskuroi, see R. Garrucci, *Le Monete dell'Italia Antica*, pl. LXXXI, fig. 13. On some early Roman Republican examples, see H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. II, figs. 3, 4, 5, and 7. On Bruttian coins of South Italy, see Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. LXI, fig. 11. Stars appear over the

heads of the Dioskuroi on an engraved ring in the British Museum and on an engraved gem in the Antiquarium, Berlin (*AJA* 49 [1945] 331, figs. 6 and 7). On the other hand, this scene does not necessarily imply that the stellar symbols are indispensable to such an interpretation. The following mirrors have the figures represented variously as nude, winged, clothed or armored. The figures are all identified as the "Dioskuroi" by Gerhard, and in all cases the stars are absent. Gerhard *ES* 1, pl. XLV, 2-9; pl. XLVI, 1, 3, 6, and 9; pl. XLVII, 3-8; pl. XLIX, 1, 4-6; pl. L, 1, 3, and 4; pl. LI, 2 and 3; pl. LII, 1-4; pl. LIII; pl. LIV, 1.

²⁵ *Pile*: understood as "Iolaos" by Gerhard (Gerhard *ES* 2, p. 3). Mansuelli follows this interpretation in "Maestro di Prometeo," *StEtr* 19 (1946-47) 52, no. 2.

²⁶ *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6; Gerhard *ES* 2, pls. cxxviii, cxxix, and cxxx.

²⁷ Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxix; *StEtr* 15 (1941) pl. XII, figs. 1-4.

²⁸ E.g., on the Tellus panel from the Ara Pacis: G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, 549.

²⁹ *StEtr* 15 (1941) 99-108.

³⁰ *ibid.* 107 and notes 14-16.

the mirrors may also be brought into association with mirrors of our class, through the presence of an amphora on the inscribed mirror of our Group (no. 19, above; pl. 80, fig. 7). This feature encourages the association of Herakles as an ultimate source for our seemingly unimportant figures.

Another approach to our colorless figures suggests a third possibility of interpretation which I cannot altogether exclude. A link between the un-inscribed figures of our class of mirrors and the *Di Penates* may be furnished by a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.66-68) *εἰσὶ δὲ νεανῖαι δυο καθήμενοι δόρατα διεκλήθοτες*. Dionysius here states that images of two seated youths holding spears were in a Roman temple not far from the Forum, and that the inscription on the images showed them to be the Penates. But no mention of whether or not the two figures were clad is made by this writer. W. W. Fowler⁸¹ maintains that the domestic cults of *Vesta*, *Genius*, and *Penates* may have expressed, "however imperfectly," the ideas of continuity after life. The Penates, as domestic gods, protected and blessed with increase the household store of food and would therefore symbolize the continuance of the household's means of subsistence. The idea of *continuity after life* makes an interesting point in favor of a possible link of the Penates with the figures represented on our mirrors, if we remember that many mirrors would eventually be used as funerary furniture to be placed with the deceased.

The appearance of the inscriptions BEDCVE and 3V17 on the mirror mentioned above (no. 19; here, pl. 80, fig. 7) brings to mind another possible mythological interpretation, in connection with the *Argonautica* (Apollodorus, 1.9.19). Although at first appearance this connection may seem quite indirect and tenuous, it will be seen to have some support from comparisons with the adjunct foot of the Ficoroni Cista, to be discussed below. While the Argonauts were on the Island of Mysia, Hylas, the favorite of Herakles, was ravished away by the nymphs from a spring where he had gone to fetch water. The Argo sailed away from the island, leaving behind Herakles and Polyphemos who were searching for Hylas. The inscription *Pile*, I admit, does not suit Polyphemos,

but it is not rare to find examples of Greek myths misinterpreted and somewhat modified by Etruscan artists in both mirror-engraving and vase-painting. I believe that *Pile* may mean *Pelias*, who was responsible for the Argonauts' quest of the Golden Fleece. Pelias may have been the only character that came to the engraver's mind when he chose to name a companion for Herakles, or perhaps he wished to show, ironically, that Pelias was the ultimate cause of Herakles' misfortune. Naturally, in this instance, *Hylas* would not do, but the amphora would serve as a clue to the missing Hylas.

We have seen thus far that the representations on the mirrors of the San Francisco Group may possibly have mythological roots with the Dioskuroi in cases of mirrors which show stars between the warriors; or, somewhat tenuously—but an idea not to be discarded altogether—with the *Di Penates*; mirrors which depict Herakles and an overturned amphora may suggest the "Baths of Herakles" as was pointed out by Mansuelli; lastly, the mirror with the inscriptions BEDCVE and 3V17 , as suggested above, may refer to the Hylas story of the *Argonautica*.

Further light on the Hylas story, together with some important clues to chronology of our mirrors, can be found in the striking resemblance of their engraved subjects to certain features of the Ficoroni Cista.⁸² Modelled in low relief on each of the adjunct feet of the cista is a group of three male figures (pl. 81, fig. 14), identified by Mrs. Ryberg as Hermes between Herakles and Iolaos.⁸³ The pose of the two figures flanking Hermes is almost exactly that of the two half-seated figures which appear on mirrors of our class. The group as a whole recalls in particular those reproduced in Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxviii, cxxix; and in *AJA* 21 (1917) 384, fig. 6.

The most striking parallel to these adjuncts appears on a mirror in the Museo Civico, Bologna (pl. 81, fig. 15),⁸⁴ not included in the San Francisco Group and of far better quality than any mirror of that group. As on the adjunct, the two figures flanking Hermes are posed in the half-seated, half-leaning posture, known to us from the mirrors of the San Francisco Group, and may be included in this discussion because of these similarities in pose, in addition to the clues it may offer for

⁸¹ W. W. Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (London 1914) 27-28.

⁸² G. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, pls. cclxxxv-cxc, fig. 2; P. Ducati, *Storia Dell'Arte Etrusca*, pl. 208, fig. 515, pl. 209.

⁸³ Inez Scott Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome* (London and Philadelphia 1940) 113.

⁸⁴ Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxxi.

the interpretation of the subject matter and the chronology of the San Francisco Group.

The subject and the composition of the adjuncts and the Bologna mirror are identical except for a few minor details. The pose of Herakles, for example, is the same in both cases. His lion-skin is draped in the same manner, even to such significant details as the portion wrapped around the left forearm. In both cases, his right hand rests on the left shoulder of Hermes. His left rests on the upright club, which is parallel to his left leg. Hermes' chlamys is entwined at the left biceps on the mirror and the adjuncts. The petasos hangs similarly at the back of the head. A caduceus in the left hand of Hermes is easily distinguishable on the mirror, and although this attribute is rather difficult to see clearly on the adjunct, its presence seems to be indicated by the position of the hand. The presence on the mirror of this unmistakable attribute of Hermes verifies Mrs. Ryberg's identification of the central figure on the adjunct of the Ficoroni Cista. The pose of the left-hand figure, "Iolaos,"⁸⁵ on the adjunct is very much like that of the corresponding figure on the mirror, but, on the adjuncts, the right arm is placed farther back with a portion of the background visible between the arm and torso. This is, however, only a minute variation. He, too, wears a chlamys in both cases, and holds his spear in his left hand. Rocky ground is indicated on the mirror, and a few details suggest a landscape of this sort on the adjuncts.

Perhaps this group of three male figures is concerned with the loss of Hylas in the *Argonautica*. Hermes may be revealing the news of Hylas' disappearance to Herakles and Polyphemus (not Iolaos), who have searched in vain. The amphora, as has been pointed out, may symbolize the site of the spring from which Hylas was ravished. This interpretation is supported by the subject engraved on the cista itself, for here we find the Argonauts at rest. The adjuncts would therefore, if their subject is rightly interpreted, harmonize well with the scene engraved on the body of the cista. The most important *difference* from the scene on the mirror is the absence, on the adjuncts, of the overturned amphora which appears on the mirror under the right foot of Herakles, but the position of his right

foot shows the existence of a support of some kind.

It is difficult to say which of the two versions served as a prototype. Most probably both are derived from a common source, as for example, such a scene represented in relief on mirror covers, found in both Greek and Etruscan metalwork,⁸⁶ or on Etruscan bullae.⁸⁷ There can be little doubt that the adjuncts derive their composition from a scene represented in a circular field, conceivably from a mirror cover or bulla. Such a field is clearly implied by the contours of figures on the adjuncts. This derivation may account for the artist's choice of a circular form for the adjuncts. In all other cases known to me, these adjuncts have a pyramidal, rectangular, or other non-circular form.⁸⁸

The plastic rendering of the anatomy on the Ficoroni adjuncts has been successfully linearized in the engravings of the mirror (or vice versa, depending on which came first). This successful translation from one medium to another is also seen in the treatment of the locks of the hair. The same contrast between the hair of Hermes and Herakles on the adjuncts is also evident in the Bologna mirror. The hair of Hermes is treated in longer, loosely flowing locks while that of Herakles is a mass of tight, curly tufts.

The approximate date of the Ficoroni Cista, and thereby also that of the Bologna mirror, and thence finally the mirrors of our class, can be established with a fair degree of accuracy. There is, it is true, marked difference in style between the main engraving of the cista and the reliefs on the adjuncts. This difference might suggest that the adjuncts have no direct bearing on the dating of the cista itself, for these attachments could be earlier in date. This possible discrepancy needs to be put in order before discussing the dating of the Ficoroni Cista itself, since the dating of both the cista and the adjuncts plays an important role in establishing a stylistic anchor for the mirrors of our class.

The engraving of the Argonauts on the cista has been said to be stylistically later than the adjuncts. Jahn⁸⁹ believed that these relief adjuncts at the feet, and the statuettes on the lid, need not have been made specifically for the cista, and that the obscuring of portions of the engraving through the attachment of these adjuncts shows plainly that

⁸⁵ Mrs. Ryberg's identification of this figure agrees with that of Gerhard (Gerhard *ES* 2, pl. cxxx1 for the Bologna mirror). G. A. Mansuelli, *StEt* 15 (1941) 106, Class V, no. 3, identifies the figure as "Apollo" for the mirror.

⁸⁶ G. M. A. Richter, *op.cit.* 257 and 287.

⁸⁷ For example, a gold bulla in the Vatican: G. Giglioli, *op.cit.* pl. ccclxxiv, fig. 20; further references, *ibid.* 69.

⁸⁸ P. Ducati, *op.cit.* pl. 239; pl. 240, fig. 585; G. Giglioli, *op.cit.* pl. ccxc, figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6; *StEt* 12 (1939) pl. I.

⁸⁹ Ryberg, *op.cit.* 112, note 74.

they were not necessarily designed expressly for this particular cista. If the story of the loss of Hylas is represented on the adjuncts, then, I believe, the agreement of this subject with that engraved on the cista strongly suggests that both parts were designed to go together. But even if the adjuncts are merely stock-pieces of the workshop and possibly of an earlier date, they need not be of such a remote age as to lose their value for helping to date the cista. Furthermore, as we shall see, they can be dated independently to a period essentially in agreement with that independently proposed for the engraving on the cista.

The style of these relief figures on the adjuncts, in the treatment of the bodies and in the modeling of the hair, recalls in particular the figure of Hermes on the sculptured column drum from the mid-fourth-century Temple of Artemis at Ephesos.⁴⁰ The anatomical likenesses in the modeling of the figures, especially around the chest, rib case, abdominal region, and the groins are extremely close. The entwined chlamys at the left biceps of the Hermes on the Ephesos column drum occurs in similar rendering on the adjuncts and on the Bologna mirror. This likeness is very significant. Practically all cases of nude figures with chlamys that are known to me show the garment draped over the forearm (as on the statue of Apollo from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia), and not at the biceps.⁴¹ The petasos hangs similarly at the back of the head of the Hermes on all three representations, but this manner of representing the petasos is not uncommon.

On grounds other than the arguments presented here, the Ficoroni Cista has been dated not earlier

than 336 B.C.,⁴² an estimate which agrees very well with that suggested by the comparison of the adjuncts with the sculptured column drum from Ephesos. If the cista and its adjunct feet are to be dated within the last third of the fourth century, and the fine work of the Bologna mirror is put as close as possible to the date assigned to the cista, then we should have a reasonably good clue to the chronological range of our mirrors. If they represent a degeneration of these types under discussion, all the evidence would seem to indicate that the mirrors of the San Francisco Group were first produced toward the very end of the fourth century B.C., with the latest examples extending into the first part of the third century. This chronology agrees with Mansuelli's dating, for he places some of the mirrors here assigned to the San Francisco Group within the fourth century, others within the third century B.C.

To return, finally, to the problems of interpretation which were raised by the mirrors of the San Francisco Group, it is easy to see that certainty is beyond reach, perhaps because the artists themselves usually had no definite mythological subject in mind. Although the subjects engraved on this class of mirrors possibly had their roots in Greek mythology, they appear to have been diluted into generalized representations, with only slight traces of their former specific mythological significance surviving in a few engravings which contain a star or an overturned amphora.

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⁴⁰ G. Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.* 434.

⁴¹ The entwining of the chlamys on the left arm can be seen on a "Dioscuri" relief in the Museum at Sparta (see M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* [Oxford 1906] 135, no. 7), also on two fragmentary low reliefs in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Siracusa, no. 33269 and no. 33271.

⁴² Sir John Beazley, "The World of the Etruscan Mirror,"

JHS 69 (1949) p. 2. Sir John bases his date for the Ficoroni Cista on the evidence of a rather heavy type of boxing glove worn by Polydeukes in the engraving of the cista. The earliest dated appearance of this type of boxing glove is on a Panathenaic Amphora of ca. 336 B.C. which bears the name of the archon, Pythodelos (Πυθόδηλος ἄρχων). For the amphora see *RM* 47 (1932) pl. 24, fig. 2; see also *CVA* British Museum, fasc. 1, III Hf. pl. 3, 1b.

Zeus Herkeios: Thematic Unity in the Hekatompedon Sculptures*

THALIA PHILLIES HOWE

PLATES 82-84

THE term Hekatompedon sculptures designates the group of poros sculptures that has occasioned much debate as to whether they decorated one or more buildings on the Akropolis.¹ It is by now generally agreed that several of these figures did come from a single building, namely, the Herakles wrestling Triton, the triple-bodied monster frequently labelled as the "Bluebeard," the pair of large serpents and at least two large lion groups.² Recently Dinsmoor has added a third lion group and has summarized the evidence for assigning all these sculptures to one building: "... corroboration of the identical source of these is found not only in their place of discovery (all intermingled in a stratum of terrace fill south of the Parthenon) but in their uniformity of scale and of depth of relief and in their material, sculptural style and polychromy... but also in the technique of their jointing."³

The question then arises as to the identity of the large temple which these monumental sculptures adorned. For the purposes of this paper it does not matter decisively whether they were fitted to the Hekatompedon, the Ur-Parthenon, Heberdey's H-group, to the Pre-Peisistratid temple or any of the other buildings that have been proposed. What this paper purports to show is that each single group of these sculptures was deliberately conceived by the Athenians of the particular time and place of their making (the Akropolis of ca. 570-560 B.C.) to do honor to Athena Polias.⁴ In addition to con-

stituting a sculptural entity, they seem to comprise a conceptual entity as well, one that would seem to be peculiarly suited to the first temple that marked Athena's rise to the domination of the Akropolis—the Hekatompedon, the Temple of Athena Polias. This was dedicated probably in 566 B.C. to celebrate the establishment of the quadrennial Panathenaic festival.⁵

An ancient temple was regarded as the house of the god, the place where his representation was kept and honored. Therefore, as Lapalus, Olsen and Picard maintain, the decorations of the temple were chosen on religious grounds, which is to say that they celebrated the god whose house they adorned; they were there not merely to fill a difficult space artistically or to satisfy the immediate mythological fancies of the artists; they were there because they reflected the immediate desires of the local citizens.⁶ As in the mediaeval period where the artists were as Christian as the rest of the congregation, the ancient sculptor or painter suffered no religious cleavage from the members of his society. His choice of themes was essentially theirs.

If we have failed in the past to discern the connection between Athena and these sculptures that were found so close to her sanctuary, it is because we have taken too fragmentary a view of them, and have not been willing to go beyond any but the most immediate literal interpretation.⁷ To do so,

* I should like to take the opportunity to thank Dr. Oscar Broneer for providing the illustration for plate 82, fig. 1, and Dr. Spyridon Marinatos for going to the trouble of verifying information for me in the Akropolis Museum. Also I should like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Barba Thanassios who many years ago, in the hills above Corinth, recounted wonderful tales to me which he claimed were told him by his companion who dwelt in the grove nearby, a long and literate serpent with a great purple beard, without doubt a venerable descendant of Zeus Herkeios himself.

¹ W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Akropolis," *AJA* 51 (1947) 109ff., 112 and notes 15 and 18 on p. 145, has summarized to date the arguments on this controversial structure and its sculptures.

² Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* 112 and note 18.

³ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* 112, 146-7. As for the stylistic differences between the various sculptures, Dinsmoor explains this

as an instance of the "problem of the generations," as based on W. Pinder's thesis, *Das Problem der Generation* (Berlin 1928).

⁴ Compare Ch. Picard's analysis of sculptures of the Temple of Athena Alea, *REG* 46 (1933) 381ff.; 47 (1934) 385ff.; 48 (1935) 475ff. Also E. Olsen, "An Interpretation of the Hephaisteion Reliefs," *AJA* 42 (1938) 276-287, for a brilliant analysis.

⁵ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* 110 and n. 12, 123ff.; *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*² (London 1950) 159.

⁶ E. Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté in Grèce* (Paris 1947) 27ff., 265ff., 345ff., 362. Ch. Picard, *REG* 42 (1929) 136; and *loc.cit.* F. Robert, *Epidaure* (Paris 1935) 25: "C'est toujours avec quelque subtilité que l'on discerne un lien entre les sculptures qui ornent le temple et la personnalité du dieu qui l'habitait." E. Olsen, *loc.cit.*

⁷ E. Lapalus, *op.cit.* 26ff. Ch. Picard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 6)

while attended by intellectual risk,⁸ need not end in idle symbolic fantasy, for it is possible to bring testimony to bear such as the corroborating presence of a local altar, an inscription, or a cult practice. Usually, too, we tend to think of pedimental sculptures exclusively in Homeric terms of Olympian hierarchies and make interpretations too narrowly within those limitations. But those were not the only religious beliefs in the archaic Greek world. While intellectually aware of that fact, we too often forget, in application, that prior to the rise of the Olympians and long after, most Greeks were at least as much concerned with chthonic cults, with magic practices and household rites, with rites of purification and orgiastic rites of communion; these and other aspects of religion were all mixed together, without fine divisions between primitive religion, state religion, family cult, magic, Olympianism, myth—categories that exist independently as chapter headings of books on Greek religion.⁹ This admixture of beliefs represented Religion to a Greek citizen, particularly prior to the 5th century, before, that is, the influence of the Olympians did become dominant. In decorating the early temples, therefore, any of these religious sources could be valid thematic material.

While it is true that Olympianism, "the theological and eschatological legacy of Homer,"¹⁰ eventually did become dominant, as K. O. Mueller's famous dissertation on the *Eumenides* first made

evident, this did not take place without a struggle.¹¹ On Athena's part that struggle is indicated by the Hekatompedon sculptures which still reflect a middle ground of religious belief—not quite Olympian and still not simple primitive belief or base superstition.

On the one pediment there are, presumably, three groups of sculpture which have nothing to do with each other: to the left Herakles combats the Triton, to the right a large but unidentified monster with three bodies and coiled serpentine tails sits lively and majestic, and in the center two powerful lions tear a prostrate bull.¹² It is true that these contiguous scenes have no thematic interrelation, each telling its own story, but in its own way each story renders honor to Athena. It is in that special sense that we can speak of thematic unity in the Hekatompedon sculptures. What each group is celebrating is the struggle of Athena to gain supremacy over the Akropolis and Attica itself against the contenders Poseidon and Zeus. These sculptures indicate not only her victories but also the compromises and concessions that had to be made by the goddess to secure that domination.¹³

As we observe first the group of Triton and Herakles, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to realize that the defeat of Poseidon is symbolized in that combat.¹⁴ Yet how can we be sure? After all, legend has it that Herakles fought the Triton in order to reach the Garden of the Hesper-

136. Also, as Olsen cautions, in order to avoid too narrow an interpretation: "The ultimate meaning in every group involves something more than the identity of any individual figure," *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 284.

⁸ Here I would agree with Olsen and would also apply to the 6th century the kind of interpretation he allowed for the 5th, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 276ff.: "... it is to belittle the intelligence and sensitivity of the Greeks as human beings to assume that they would tolerate the application of completely irrelevant scenes on their temples. Such an assumption puts an extremely low value upon the temple as the house of a deity. . . . I am not unconscious of the fact that this interpretation involves a fifth century artistic principle which has been little recognized. The god is commemorated and worshipped, not by representing an image of him as he performs one of the deeds attributed to him, but by selecting from the common fund of myth and legend the events in which the god's particular power is seen to be at work. It is not difficult to establish this principle in fifth century literature and sculpture, or to trace its basis in a relatively abstract aspect of contemporary religion."

⁹ E. Rohde, for example, in his *Psyche* contended that Homer constituted an artificial break in the continuity of Greek religion, which comprised these other elements. W. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (London 1950) 270-277, 295.

¹⁰ W. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 9) p. 257.

¹¹ K. O. Mueller, *Dissertation on the Eumenides of Aeschylus* (London 1853). On the late appearance of Olympianism:

L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States I* (Oxford 1896) 84.

¹² These pedimental sculptures have been restored by Heberdey, Wiegand and Buschor without the central lion group, but with a Nereid fleeing from the conflict between Herakles and the Triton: Th. Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur* (Leipzig 1904) 72ff., 88ff., 214ff. (Watzinger), figs. 109, 110, 112, 230 on pls. IV and V, V. R. Heberdey, *Altattische Poros-skulptur* (Vienna 1919) 15. G. Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* (Cambridge 1912-21) 73, 84ff., nos. 31, 38, 56. E. Buschor, *AM* 47 (1922) 58. W. Schuchhardt reconstructs the east pediment with the two snakes and the couchant lion and lioness, *AM* 60/61 (1935/36) 86ff. In the west pediment he puts the lion and bull, the Triton group and the triple-bodied monster. G. Rodenwaldt, *Korkyra II* (Berlin 1939) p. 157. O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 91ff. G. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) figs. 377-79. Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 140ff. (Pl. 82, fig. 1).

¹³ This interpretation has been anticipated by G. Elderkin's remarks in "Cults of the Erechtheion," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 123-124.

¹⁴ Th. Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 82ff. A. Furtwängler, "Die Giebelgruppen des alten Hekatompedon auf der Akropolis," *SBBay. Phil.-Philol. Kl.*, 1905, no. 3. 433ff. (Pl. 82, fig. 3.) Note for example that in E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder II* (Berlin 1840-58) #111 behind the Triton is Poseidon with his trident looking as though he were rushing to the aid of the creature. (Pl. 82, fig. 4.)

des. But, as Carl Robert stated, this is a later, aetiological addition to the myth, a rationalizing attempt to explain why Herakles fights sea-monsters, vague generalized fears of the sea.¹⁵ Is it not significant that in choosing subjects from Herakles' Twelve Erga and the Parerga, those numerous contests incidental and auxiliary to the Labours (not to mention Herakles' other, military ventures), out of all this legion of exploits the Athenians chose practically the only one that shows Herakles defeating a sea-creature, a minor episode that was only very incidental to a main Labour?¹⁶ Yet it must have been an important selection for the Athenians, since they rendered it again shortly after on another Akropolis pediment.¹⁷ Why did they not choose instead the contest that was most popular among the vase painters for instance, the fight with the Nemean lion?¹⁸ Because the Nemean lion would have had no meaning on the house of Athena, whereas the Triton did. He was the *alter* aspect of Poseidon whose defeat the Athenians wished to show. Then too, the Athenians might have chosen other legends in which heroes destroy sea-beasts, for example, the destruction of Ketos by Perseus,¹⁹ or Herakles' own slaughter of a sea-beast, similar to Ketos, which attacked Hesione. But these were not chosen because neither Ketos nor the other monster had the same close relation to Poseidon as did Triton, the god's own son. Herakles, too, was the logical hero to choose, rather than, say, Perseus, for he was the goddess's favorite hero.²⁰

¹⁵ C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* II (Berlin 1921) pp. 437, 499, 506. References to Herakles' fight with a sea-monster occur as early as Homer, *Il.* 20, 145. Also, frequently, in later literature, Pindar, *N.* 1, 35; 3, 38ff.; *Isth.* 4, 52ff. and Euripides, *HF*, 400ff., *Hipp.* 743ff.

¹⁶ R.E. s.v. "Herakles" suppl. 1001, as ἀλεξίκακος, and 1021 to see how extensively the Herakles myth was eventually elaborated. L. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford 1921) ch. 5. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 9) pp. 238ff. M. Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley 1932) p. 195. As Nilsson says, this eventual classification of the myths has no value in indicating the real development of the Herakles cycle. B. Schweitzer, *Herakles* (Tübingen 1922) p. 179.

¹⁷ A. Furtwängler s.v. "Herakles" in Roscher's *Lex.* 2192. Richter, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 120. It is also of interest to note that the Triton myth was important only in the 6th century, falling almost into oblivion after the 5th, as Robert points out. Apparently the need that evoked its rise was no longer an issue after that period. For the other Herakles-Triton pedimental sculptures: Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 5) Temple "A," p. 71. A. Brueckner, *AM* 15 (1890) 119. Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 195, fig. 213. Dickins, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 60-61. E. Buschor, "Meermänner," *SBAW* (1941) 2, 1, 22ff., fig. 13.

¹⁸ S. B. Luce, *AJA* 22 (1916) 470ff. E. Rambo, *Lions in Greek*

In using the Herakles-Triton theme to symbolize the defeat of Poseidon, instead of overtly expressing it, as was done for instance on the later temple of Athena Polias, the Parthenon, it would seem that the Athenians chose this device because they were as yet not ready to show the defeat of a god openly, at least not in so bold and conspicuous a form as pedimental sculpture. Therefore, the aggression was poeticized, masked. But by understanding why Poseidon's defeat was desired in the first place, we can begin to understand better the reasons for Athena's rise to the domination of Attica and the celebration of that rise on these sculptures. The Poseidon of the early 6th century was not as yet the developed Olympian type that is met with in the Parthenon theomachy; he is still closer to his original, more primitive concept as implied in his name, "Consort of the Earth." Lord of fresh water as well as of the sea, he is, as Farnell has shown,²¹ the fertilizer of the earth. As such, Poseidon is close to the fertility powers so important to an agricultural community of the sort that Attica still was in the 6th century, and which, therefore, regarded him as more of a power and consequently more of a threat to the rising urban Athena, than was true in the later period. But more will have to be said on this subject later.

A problem of more positive, but more complex solution, is represented by the figure at the other angle of this same pediment, the enigmatic snake-tailed monster with three torsos and heads, which has generally been interpreted as the sea-demon,

Art (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1918) p. 5.

¹⁹ In the case of Perseus they were not reluctant to depict him on the akroteria with the Gorgon, deliberately choosing that episode rather than his combat with the sea-monster, Ketos. The Athenians always had a specific idea in mind in choosing one theme rather than another.

²⁰ Athena is associated with Herakles as early as *Il.* 8, 366ff. On the Kypselos chest, Paus. 5, 17, 11. Gruppe, *RE* suppl. 3 s.v. "Herakles," 1096-7. A. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lex.* s.v. "Herakles," 2216. Robert, *op.cit.*, I (*supra* n. 15) pp. 202ff., II, pp. 507, 635. Gerhard, *op.cit.* II (*supra* n. 14) pls. 103-98 gives a series of illustrations of Herakles' exploits, and in practically every one the hero is attended by Athena. The hero was, as Rhys Carpenter has called him, "the darling of the Athenians." Lapalus, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 6) pp. 400ff. Olsen, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 286.

²¹ L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I (Oxford 1896) pp. 1-97. U. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I (Berlin 1931-2) p. 212. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 9) pp. 95ff. F. Schachermeyer, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (Bern 1950) pp. 13, 36. Poseidon's innate primitivism is best exemplified on the coins of Potidaia where he sat naked on horseback holding the trident and reins: C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London 1933) pl. vii, 4.

designated variously as Nereus, Proteus, or Halios Geron, the Old Man of the Sea.²² This marine interpretation is more credible than that of Furtwängler and Schweitzer who believed it to be the Tritopatores, benignant deities of the wind to whom the Athenians also prayed for children.²³ As Jacobsthal and others have conclusively shown, the two attributes on which Furtwängler and Schweitzer based their belief cannot, as they assumed, be regarded as analogous to the leather straps held by the Roman Luperci in promoting child-birth.²⁴ Moreover, the attributes themselves are not identical, again as Furtwängler believed, but of two different symbols. Also the creature has numerous other attributes which have no possible connection with the Tritopatores, and which must be explained.²⁵

According to the account of the 5th century B.C. mythographer, Pherekydes, Herakles wrestled with the sea-demon Nereus, or Halios Geron, or Proteus, who attempted to elude him by changing into fire and water.²⁶ Proteus, the Halios Geron of Homer, when eluding Menelaos, not Herakles, was further transformed into a lion, leopard, dragon, boar and tree.²⁷ However, it is important to note that this transformation took place *only during the actual combat*, a fact also borne out by all the known illustrations of the scene.²⁸ Otherwise, even in most

combat scenes, and always when not in combat, the creature has a single human form at least to the waist. Usually he is completely anthropomorphic and identifiable only by an accompanying inscription or by being represented as bald or white-haired.²⁹ In view of this description, how is it possible to regard the Hekatompedon sculpture as one of these sea-demons since he is not engaged in conflict and yet is unquestionably in complex, triple form?

However, one may be willing to waive that particular point and regard the figure as an exception, arguing that the attributes of the creature are still so unmistakably those of a sea-demon that this variation from the customary form of representation does not present an insuperable objection. What specifically, then, are these attributes of the triple-bodied figure and how well do they sustain the evidence for a sea-creature who could also be fire, as well as creatures such as a lion or a dragon? Water, the first of these elements, is symbolized by the object held in the hand of the torso closest to the center of the pediment: it is rectangular, blunt at both ends and decorated by a series of parallel wavy striations. The other object, which is very similar, but differs in tapering at one end and in having striations much less wavy, is often believed to represent fire, though Jacobsthal has demon-

²² F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm* (1947) 4ff., lists the bibliography to date on the various interpretations of this creature, including Typhon, Tritopatores, Erechtheus, Aigaion-Briareus, Nereus, Halios Geron, Proteus, "unknown sea-creature," and "unknown." For illustrations of the Hekatompedon figure: Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 77, pl. 4; Heberdey, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 46ff. Dickens, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 78ff., 86; Buschor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 53ff., pl. 5, 106ff., pl. 15 and fig. 1. The Halios Geron is believed generally to have been the oldest version of the Old Man of the Sea, which later split into the figures of Nereus, Triton, Proteus; see Buschor, p. 57. K. Shephard, *The Fish-Tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art* (New York 1940) pp. 11, 13, 15. (Pl. 82, fig. 2.)

²³ Furtwängler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 14) 433ff., 450ff.; in *SBBay* (1906) 149 he also assigns this to a pediment different from that of the Triton group. Schweitzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 16) 72ff., believes that the Tritopatores were wind-horses originally, and totem-animals. Dickens, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 79ff.

²⁴ P. Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalische und griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1906) p. 55.

²⁵ A. Brueckner, *Praktika* (1910) 102ff. The earliest references to the Tritopatores come from the second half of the 5th c. B.C. *AA* 27 (1912) 29. Also E. Wüst, *RE* s.v. "Tritopatores." Earlier, Brueckner had regarded this figure as a Typhon, *AM* 14 (1889) 70ff., as have Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 75ff., figs. 82, 83, 88, 89; Heberdey, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 63ff., pls. 3, 4; and Robert, *op.cit.* II (*supra* n. 15) pp. 507ff.; Brommer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 22). These have based their assumptions on Euripides' reference to a triple-bodied Typhon (*Her. Fur.* 1271ff.), and a vase painting of a Typhon holding

a thunderbolt. But according to Hesiod, *Th.* 821ff., Typhon had a hundred heads of dragon shape, and when he stole Zeus' thunderbolt he was destroyed by the god and buried under Aetna. It is the usual gigantomachy theme, which, when rendered in monumental art, usually does not depict the giants, the aggressors, in the quiescent and triumphant attitude and position of this Hekatompedon figure. Moreover, as can be demonstrated, this figure has several attributes which cannot be understood in terms either of a Typhon or the Tritopatores. For further arguments against a Typhon interpretation see Furtwängler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 14) 438, 440ff.

²⁶ The account of Apollonius Rhodius quoting Pherekydes. Schol. *Apoll. Rh.*, 4, 1396 (p. 522, ed. R. Merkel, Leipzig 1854) *FHG* I, p. 78, Pherekydes fr. 33. The literary tradition for this myth goes back to at least the 6th c. B.C., Shephard, *op.cit.* 12ff.

²⁷ *Od.* 4, 384-5, 456-8. Similarly when Thetis, the sea-nymph, was pursued by Peleus she changed into a lion, a dragon, fire and water. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*² (Leipzig 1889) Soph. fr. 154. Schol. on Pindar, N. 3, 60. E. Buschor *AM* 47 (1922) 56ff.

²⁸ These are discussed *infra*.

²⁹ On the François vase: *Furtw.* I, pls. 1, 2; H. Walters, *Cat. Gr. and Etr. Vases Br. Mus.* II (London 1893) B201, B223, fig. 29, B224, B311, B312; *JHS* 26 (1906) 15, fig. 6; *CVA Br. Mus.* 2, pl. 55, 3a (IIIHe), for details see pl. 60, 2; Gerhard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 14) pl. 112; Luce, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 18) 174ff.; Shephard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 22) p. 13 (Pl. 82, fig. 4, here the Halios Geron stands to the right as spectator. Pl. 82, fig. 5).

strated by comparison with other examples that it is more specifically a sign for lightning.⁸⁰ If it be lightning, then, by analogy with the lightning held by Zeus as God of the Upper Air, this object can also be regarded as much a symbol for air as for fire. In other words, the Hekatompedon figure has no attribute that represents fire exclusively, one of the fundamental forms of transformation of Nereus in combat. Of equally ambiguous interpretation is the coiled snake-tail of the monster, as well as the snakes about its shoulders. These may identify the dragon aspect mentioned by Homer in connection with Proteus,⁸¹ but far more commonly in Greek thought the snake represented the underworld. So far then, on the positive side, this creature has one attribute which symbolizes water exclusively, and others of ambiguous interpretation answering either to fire, a dragon, or the underworld. So far these are not very convincing evidence in support of a marine interpretation for this creature. They become even less so as we observe several contemporary illustrations of Nereus and Halios Geron which depict them with attributes that are admirably appropriate.

These illustrations are on five contemporary monuments of the first half of the 6th century, an Argive-Corinthian bronze, a Boeotian lekythos and amphoriskos, a fragmentary Samian hydria and an Attic krater, all of which show a consistent portrait of the sea-demon⁸² which in turn also agrees with the literary descriptions.⁸³ Herakles grapples with a figure either bald or semi-bald, labelled Halios Geron or Nereus, who has a *single* long fish-tail, or once, one that ends in a crab-claw, also a marine designation. From its back there rises a

snake and sometimes it holds one in its hands. In one case an animal head resembling a panther's also rises from its back, and on another example an attribute probably correctly interpreted as fire appears there. These illustrations, particularly with their main emphasis on the great fish-tail, are entirely in agreement with the literary accounts and with the whole legend of this contest, but they disagree markedly with the Hekatompedon enigma who sits uncontested and in archaic splendor with three torsos and heads that are such careful counterparts of each other that they must represent *one figure, one idea triply emphasized*, rather than *three different figures in one*, which would be the case involving separate and complex transformations.

Then there are other things that must be accounted for. How are we to explain the three human torsos and the heads so markedly vigorous and youthful?⁸⁴ What of the bird? Then there are the great wings, and, because they are so fragmentary, we tend to forget how they must have enframed and dominated the figure. These, in no ambiguous terms, powerfully signify the realms of air, yet nowhere in the literature or on the illustrations is there any reference to this element. Along the same lines of argument, if this be the Halios Geron, there also does not seem to be any satisfactory explanation as to why the artist should have substituted the snake-tails for the normal fish-tail, the attribute most characteristic of the sea-beast. If, as has been suggested, we regard this as symbolic of the dragon aspect, it would seem to be placing disproportionate emphasis on a very minor aspect. And to argue, as Buschor does,⁸⁵ that the snake-

⁸⁰ Dickins, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 79, 80, n. 1. Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 77, 78ff., pl. 4. L. Curtius, *SBayer. Stud. z. altorient. Kunst* (1912) 37ff. Heberdey, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 60, pl. 4. Buschor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 59ff. Furtwängler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 14) 433ff., 439, and Schweitzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 16) pp. 73ff. deny that these could be fire or lightning symbols. But Jacobsthal, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 24) p. 12 has demonstrated otherwise.

⁸¹ *Od.* 4, 384-5, 456-8. Dickins, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 82. Furtwängler, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 14) 439ff., believed the shoulder snakes came from some shield of Athena, and that they had no connection with his Tritopatores. Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) figs. 82a-d, 83. Heberdey, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 40-44.

⁸² Argive-Corinthian bronze: Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia* (Berlin 1890) pp. 96ff.; *Olympia IV*, pp. 101ff., n. 699a and pl. 39; Shephard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 22) pp. 10, 17, fig. 10 (Pl. 82, fig. 6).

Boeotian lekythos: *RA I* (1899) 8, fig. 5; Buschor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 56ff., 60ff., fig. 1; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) p. 193; A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin 1927) p. 155; G. Shephard, p. 20, fig. 24 (Pl. 82, fig. 7).

Boeotian amphoriskos: Buschor, *SBayer* (1941) 2, 1, fig. 11 (Pl. 82, fig. 8).

Samian hydria: (frag.) Buschor (*supra*) fig. 12; *AM* 62 (1937) 135 nr. 5 (Pl. 83, fig. 9).

Attic krater by Sophilos: *WV* (1889) pl. II, 1; Shephard (*supra*) pp. 13, 21, fig. 25; G. Nicole, *Cat. des vases peints du Mus. Nat. d'Athènes* suppl. (Paris 1911) no. 911; Buschor, *AM* 47 (1922) 56, pl. 5; S. Papaspyridi-Karuss, "Sophilos," *AM* 62 (1937) pl. 50, 2; 55 (Pl. 83, fig. 10).

⁸³ Hesiod's description of Nereus as old: *Th.* 234, 1003. Homer speaks of Thetis and her sisters who are described as "κοῦραι ἀλίοιο γέροντος," *Il.* 1, 538, 556; 20, 107; 24, 562. Stesichoros (cf. U. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles I* [1889] p. 272; *Il.* p. 285; *ibid.*, p. 258); Shephard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 22) p. 11.

⁸⁴ Shephard, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 22) p. 22, for example, assumes that this figure is the Old Man of the Sea, then comments that "ordinarily the Athenians thought of the Halios Geron as an old man," thus indicating her surprise at the youthfulness of the appearance of this example.

⁸⁵ Buschor *AM* 47 (1922) 58.

tail was used merely because it so admirably filled the angle of the pediment, is begging the question since the fish-tail had already been used so effectively in the case of the Triton on the opposite side of the gable. Certainly it would have given the whole pediment the very symmetry that was achieved on the rear pediment where the angles are filled by the two undulating tails of the large serpents. Thus the artist might have achieved a simple pattern of two snake-tails on the rear and two fish-tails on the front, a desirable and obvious symmetry.⁸⁶ But patently he was *not free* to choose between two kinds of tails, for the creature he was illustrating was not conceived of as fish-tailed to begin with. Instead, the attributes of the creature are carefully calculated by their size, number and relative importance to inform the spectator that this is a creature which, by its dominant wings, the bird and the one attribute in the hand, represents first and foremost Air; then by its triple, coiled tails, and the shoulder-snakes, the Earth and the world under it; and by the one object held in the hand, and that only to a minor degree, Water. To my knowledge there is only one deity of this period who ever came close to representing all three of these elements simultaneously, and that was Zeus in his lesser aspect of Herkeios.

⁸⁶ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 112, note 18.

⁸⁷ Farnell, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 21) pp. 103ff. Max Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, pp. 111-14ff., thinks the figure was a Cyclops. See Farnell's comment on this, p. 104, n. a.

⁸⁸ Paus. 2, 24, 3 (ed. W. H. S. Jones, Heinemann): "Here are placed votive offerings, including a wooden image of Zeus, which has two eyes in the natural place and a third on its forehead. This Zeus, they say, was a paternal god of Priam, the son of Laomedon, set up in the uncovered part of his court, and when Troy was taken by the Greeks Priam took sanctuary at the altar of this god. . . . The reason for its three eyes one might infer to be this. That Zeus is king in heaven is a saying common to all men. As for him who is said to rule under the earth, there is a verse of Homer which calls him, too, Zeus: 'Zeus of the Underworld, and the august Persephoneia' [*Il.* 9, 457]. The god in the sea, also, is called Zeus by Aeschylus, the son of Euphorion. So whoever made the image made it with three eyes as signifying that this same god rules in all the three 'allotments' of the Universe as they are called." Paus. 8, 46, 2: "For when Troy was taken and the Greeks were dividing up the spoils, Sthenelus the son of Capaneus was given the wooden image of Zeus Herceius (of the Courtyard)." Schol. Eur. *Tr.* 16 (I, p. 43, ed. W. Dindorf, Oxford 1863): "τὸν δὲ ἑρκειον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἀναγράφουσιν ἰδίαν τινὰ σχῆσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρησθῆναι φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀγίαν καὶ Δερκύλον."

Paus. 2, 2, 8 comments on the three statues of Zeus in Corinth, one of which had no special title, the second was *Xθόνιος*, and the third *Τύσιος*. A. B. Cook, *Zeus II* (Cambridge 1925) p. 878, n. 3. H. Sjocevall, *Zeus in altgriechischen Hauskult* (Lund 1931) pp. 27ff.

⁸⁹ A. Nauck, *Eur. Tragödiæ III* (Leipzig 1912) p. 255 fr.

Zeus Herkeios, a deity little known to us, was to the ancients a very common god of the household, yet so familiar and homely that he was ordinarily overlooked by serious art and literature, and, if lack of illustration be any indication, was neglected by even the lesser craftsmen. But there was another, more important explanation for what seems like lack of interest, as we shall see. What we know of the appearance and nature of this triple Zeus has been pieced together mostly by Farnell.⁸⁷ His evidence comes chiefly from Pausanias' account of an Argive xoanon of Zeus⁸⁸ which had three eyes and symbolized the familiar god of the Heavens united with the Zeus Catachthonios mentioned by Homer and Euripides, and with the Zeus Enalios mentioned by Aeschylus and other sources.⁸⁹ As the ancient traveler states: "Whoever made the image made it with three eyes as signifying that this same god rules in all the three allotments of the universe as they are called." And, as Farnell comments, a figure of three eyes was the only way the primitive artist knew how to portray the god who looked to the heavens, the earth and the water. The artist of the primitive xoanon was as yet unable to open the hands of the figure and put in it a bird, or bolt, or any attribute at all, and he was even less capable of

904 (incert.), the translation of which is as follows: "Ruler of all, to thee I bring libation and honey-cake, by what so appellation Thou wouldst be called, or Zeus, or Hades, thou. A fireless offering I bear thee now of all earth's fruit, take Thou its plenitude. Dost share Zeus' sceptre, and art ruling found with Hades in the kingdoms underground." Aisch. *Suppl.* 155 speaks of the god of the underworld: "τὸν γάριον, τὸν πολυεργάτων Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων." There is the fragment from Aeschylus' *Diktyoulois* which has been restored by Vitelli to read as a reference to Zeus Enalios: "ἀναξ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνά[λιε] . . ." M. Norsa and Vitelli, *BSRAA* 28 (1932) 116. R. Pfeiffer, *SBBay Philos.-Hist.* (1938) no. 2, pp. 4, 8ff. Sch. of Hermias on Plat. *Phaedr.* (ed. D. Ast. Leipzig 1810, pp. 133-35): "τρεῖς εἰσὶ Δίας Ζεύς, Ποσειδῶν, Πλούτων . . . Ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος οἶδε τοὺς τρεῖς τοῦτους Δίας . . ." Procl. in Plato, *Crat.* 402^{bc} (148) (ed. G. Pasquali, p. 83), in referring to the three conceptions of Zeus says: "ὁ δὲ δεύτερος θναδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Αἰδης." *Orph. Hymn* 63, 16: "πόντιος ἐνάλιος Ζεὺς." B. Schweitzer *Herakles* (Tübingen 1922) pp. 59ff., in his interpretation of multiple-formed gods in primitive art, as a popular attempt to express an abstract and metaphysical idea in physical form, uses the Argive xoanon as illustration. A. B. Cook, *Zeus II*, pp. 582ff., believes that the "Hellenic Poseidon was but a specialized form of Zeus." p. 578, no. 4. A. Körte, *Hermes* 68 (1933) 267ff. Sjocevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38).

On the chthonian Zeus: Agorakritos, the favorite pupil of Pheidias, made a Zeus-Hades for the Temple of Athena-Itonia at Coronea in Boeotia, Paus. 9, 34, 1 and Strabo 9, 2, 29 (C 411).

rendering him with three bodies.⁴⁰ But the problem of the artist was not merely that of temporary technical limitations, there were others which even further technical accomplishment could not solve. Fundamentally the artist had to render *simultaneously* actions which are in reality *successive in space*, if not in time. By comparison, then, the seemingly clumsy conception of the Hekatompedon triple-bodied god with his burden of symbols seems highly imaginative and executed with great technical skill.

While we might expect the god of the Upper Air to have so many and such dominant attributes to represent that element, it is particularly interesting that the snake-tail was not only a convenient artistic symbol, but was also probably characteristic of Zeus Herkeios at all times. Certainly it can be shown that he had other snaky connections. As Jane Harrison indicated, and later Sjoevall in his study of Zeus as household deity, Herkeios was closely associated with Zeus Ktesios, the snake-god who guarded the household provisions, and also with the Agathos Daimon whose usual appearance was that of a snake.⁴¹ Therefore, Zeus Herkeios himself, by virtue of the fact that he was also god of the underworld, may well have been conceived of as part snake.

This conception of the triple Zeus is identified further on an Attic painting of the early 5th century,⁴² presented exactly as we might expect of an artist of this period of anthropomorphic realism: by three separate figures of Zeus virtually identical of face and form. They are tall, slender, bearded and of great power and vigor. They compare with the god of the Hekatompedon who is also powerful and has three identical torsos and heads, though conceived according to the tastes of a different age. The Zeus figures of the vase painting are differentiated only slightly by dress and by the attributes in their

hands which include the trident, thunderbolts and the aforementioned symbol for lightning which was held by the sculpture.⁴³ To this artist, however, the chthonic Zeus was unimportant and he omitted any attributes of this aspect, but still the idea is there simply by virtue of the fact that the third figure was retained; the idea was not reduced to two. Furthermore, von Paucker draws attention to the curious curl in the middle of the forehead of each, which he believes is not a curl, but an attempt to suggest a third eye.

In making a final résumé of these three illustrations of the Zeus of the realms, it is evident that their apparent large differences were due only to the stages of technical development and the aesthetic tastes of the different ages in which they were conceived and executed: the primitive period could designate the idea only by a xoanon with three eyes; the classical, though realistic and anthropomorphic, no longer had the taste for gross literalism and so it represented three separate figures of Olympian stature holding symbols. It was only the technically skilled and freely imaginative 6th century that expressed without sophisticated restraint its conception of one god in three guises. This 6th century artistic formulation of Zeus Herkeios was without antecedents, a unique trial and a failure, but one that stood logically in point of development between the other two.

Even if it be granted that this sculpture represents Zeus Herkeios, it still remains to be demonstrated how this god came rightly by his place on the pediment of the house of Athena Polias. And how did it come about that the god of the vast realms of air, water and the underworld who had a considerable cult as such in Olympia and Argos, the principal centers of his worship, was confined in Athens to back-stairs worship, so to speak?⁴⁴ Sjoevall in his study on the house-cults of Zeus

⁴⁰ H. Sjoevall views this tripling of the eyes as another manifestation of the people's "belief in the superhuman power of the god through the multiplicity of his parts." *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) p. 28 and n. 2; cf. Schweitzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 39) pp. 59ff.; cf. W. Deonna, "Unité et Diversité," *RA* 1 (1914) 39ff., who is illuminating on the problem of the manifestation of these multiple-figures, the difficulties the artists faced in illustrating them and the expedients they used in arriving at solutions. Many of the functions of the gods in the physical world simply could not be expressed easily and with clearness on the monuments. As Farnell queries, what for instance could have been the representation in the archaic period of Zeus as the god of rainfall?

⁴¹ J. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge 1912) p. 299 quotes Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1, 67, 3, who describes the Penates: "But those who translate the word

[Penates] into Greek render it, some as 'Patrōoi,' some as 'Genethlioi,' some again as 'Ktesioi,' others as 'Mychioi,' others as 'Herkeioi.' Each and all these translators seem to adopt a word according to what has occurred to themselves, and they all mean pretty much the same." [my emphasis T.H.] Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 7ff.

⁴² Farnell, *Cults* I, pl. 1, b. C. von Paucker, *AZ* (1851) pp. 377ff., pl. 27, 2. J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* II (Leipzig 1871) pp. 260ff. (Pl. 83, fig. 11).

⁴³ Overbeck, *op.cit.* II, p. 259 and note f, *Gemmenafel*, pl. 3 #7, 8, also notes two gems on which a Zeus figure holds the thunderbolt and a trident while mounting a chariot. On one gem he is also accompanied by a dog which Overbeck takes to be the Dog of Hades.

⁴⁴ At Olympia: Paus. 5, 14, 7. At Argos: Paus. 8, 46, 2.

points out that originally in Homeric worship Herkeios was an important deity of the "Herrenreligion." He has found evidence of his worship by the temple of the goddess, presumably Hera, at Tiryns; it was at Herkeios' altar, too, that Priam was slain.⁴⁵ Similarly, at Athens Zeus Herkeios had had his place on the Akropolis for a long time, originally in the house of the Mycenaean kings,⁴⁶ and in later times his cult was maintained at an altar that stood in the Pandroseion, under the shade of the sacred olive tree itself.⁴⁷ Each Attic home, too, had its altar of Zeus Herkeios in the courtyard.⁴⁸ By degrees since Homeric times this deity had been absorbed into every household from the royal household and had become the cult center of the family around which evolved ideas of kinship and morality. As Sjoevall points out, Herkeios was but another of Zeus' many forms as "Beschützer." The name "Herkeios" is derived from the word ἔρκος, originally defined as the "wattle-fencing, usually the wall of a precinct," and precinct, like templum, being either an open space, or, later, a sanctuary.⁴⁹ Hence Zeus Herkeios was predominantly an apotropaic power, one which had been at home for a long time on the Akropolis. And since he offered no aggression to Athena, her worshippers and the builders of her sacred temple set him on high on the front pediment to function as its benign guardian. Finally, we might ask, on taking leave of the point, where on the Akropolis or

in the Lower Town or in the whole of Attica did the Halios Geron have any such cult worship at all? How then could he have merited a position of such importance on the temple?

It is my opinion that in the two great snakes which fill the angles of the rear pediment, we see additional aspects of a benignly disposed Zeus.⁵⁰ These undulate in imposing scale to their bearded heads that high above the Attic plain stare straight out at the oncoming spectators. Scholars have made practically no attempt in the past to interpret these snakes as other than vaguely anonymous reptilian apotropaia,⁵¹ perhaps representative of the one or ones that attended the infant Erichthonios,⁵² or of the οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν, the snake that guarded the citadel, as Herodotos tells us.⁵³ While it is undoubtedly true that such local concepts probably, in part at least, did underlie the selection of these snake-forms these were not the only reasons. Especially in the case of the snake-guardians of Erichthonios we might do well to ask whether such supernumerary creatures were important enough to merit representations so vigorous and so imposingly placed? Would not Erichthonios himself, or certainly Erechtheus, have been more to the point as symbols of the citadel?⁵⁴ Yet apparently even these ancient and honored figures were not regarded as worthy enough. Perhaps, then, these Hekatompedon reptiles represented instead the citadel snake itself who was shown twice in order to fill out both

⁴⁵ Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion* (New York 1940) pp. 30, 51, 60; *Cults I*, pp. 157-58. M. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (Oxford 1952) p. 125. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 12, 23, 25, 34-5, 45, 48. A. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns I*, 31, 1. *Od.* 22, 334. Athen. 5. 189c: But Homer always uses 'court' of the open spaces, where the altar of Zeus, god of the open spaces [ἐρκεῖον], was placed."

⁴⁶ Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 7ff., 25. M. D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens* (New York 1909) p. 16.

⁴⁷ Dion. Halik. *Din.* 3, 637. cf. Philochorus, *FHG I*, p. 408, #146: "Κῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῶσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἑρκεῖου Διός, τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο." Nilsson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 45). G. Elderkin, "The Cults of the Erechtheion," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 123. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 10, 25. W. Judeich *Topogr.* (Munich 1931) p. 281 and p. 136 for ref. to worship at the Dipylon; also *CIA II*, 3, #1664. *AM* 4 (1879) 288.

⁴⁸ M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1947) p. 67; *Hist. of Gr. Rel.* p. 125. Farnell, *Cults I*, p. 54 and n. 99, pp. 157-8; *Higher Aspects*, pp. 27ff., 43, 55, 60ff. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) p. 11. Soph. *Ant.* 487, also 1301 and Jebb's note on this.

⁴⁹ Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 41ff. Harp. (ed. W. Dindorf 1853) I, p. 134, 9. cf. Suid: "Ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς; ὁ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἐρκους ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἱδρυνται. τὸν γὰρ περίβολον ἐρκος λέγουσιν." (Also Athen. V, 189c, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 45) for quotation.

⁵⁰ Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 92ff., pl. v. Heberdey,

op.cit. (*supra* n. 12) pp. 102ff., figs. 85-102, pl. v. Dickens, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 74ff., 78, 86. Schuchhardt, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 92ff., fig. 15. Dinsmoor, *Arch. Anc. Gr.*, pp. 146-7 (Pl. 83, figs. 12a, 12b).

⁵¹ H. Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris 1903) pp. 120ff. He also shows how mistaken was A. Brueckner's contention that the snakes represented the Echidna, *AM* 14 (1889) 74ff.

⁵² In the earliest sources, literary and monumental, there are two snakes that attended Erichthonios: Eur. *Ion* 20; and the early 5th century Attic vase painting, our earliest illustration of the infant Erichthonios in the basket, H. Heydemann, *Annali d'Inst.* 1879, 112, pl. F; Escher s.v. "Erichthonios" in Roscher's *Lex.* p. 1307. Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) fig. 97. *WV* 8, pl. 2. M. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund 1950) p. 427. The later sources refer to only one snake: Apollod. 3, 14, 6. Paus. 1, 18, 2. Eratosth. *Cat.* 13. Hygin. *Astr.* 2, 13.

⁵³ Hdt. 8, 41. Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 759. Soph. *Ph.* 1306ff. Hesychius s.v. οἰκουρὸς ὄφιν. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) p. 71. Nilsson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 52) pp. 327ff.

⁵⁴ Wiegand suggested that the snakes represented Erechtheus himself, but this was a shape he did not assume, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 95ff. J. Frazer, *Golden Bough IV*, pp. 86ff. This tradition is a late one in antiquity: Paus. 1, 24, 7. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 7, 24, by this time the snake was regarded as Athena's son. A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces* (New York 1895) pp. 46ff. and n. 5.

corners neatly.⁵⁵ But would such a repetition be necessary? Surely there was enough other snake-tailed material, significant to the Akropolis, which could have been used in order to avoid mere repetition. Cecrops, for instance, should certainly have been suited to the site and the other angle if it were merely snake-tailed local "color" they were after. Moreover his role as judge of the contest between Poseidon and Athena ought to have been sufficient to warrant his inclusion among the sculptures in honor of Athena Polias. But apparently neither Cecrops, the mythical snake-tailed first king of Athens, nor his successor Erechtheus, nor Erechtheus' counterpart, Erichthonios, intimately involved though they were with the history of the Akropolis, were worthy of being mounted on the Hekatompedon pediments. The reason for their exclusion seems to come down to this—these spaces were reserved instead for figures of Olympian struggle.

What, then, could these Hekatompedon snakes have symbolized to Athenians of that century? In addition to the royal snake of the citadel, the Athenians revered his more humble counterpart, Zeus Ktesios, who was worshipped at every local hearth in snake form.⁵⁶ He was the protector of the hearth and of the household provisions and his image stood in the storeroom.⁵⁷ While his cult was widespread locally, it was originally, and most always, an unimposing one. By the time of Aischylos, however, the ancients held to the notion that

a household could not only protect its possessions but could actually augment them with Ktesios' help.⁵⁸ This would indicate, as Sjoevall points out, a very great broadening of the god's powers, from simple guardian to a productive, active force.⁵⁹ This extension of his powers would justify certainly Ktesios' elevation to the great pediment, which took place in the very period when Athens, roused and stabilized by Solon, was undergoing drastic economic development.

That Zeus Ktesios was something more than a domestic watch-dog is also indicated by the fact that the god had not only private but public altars as well. Like Zeus Herkeios, Ktesios had a special veneration at Athens, more so than in any other locality, as Farnell and Sjoevall make clear.⁶⁰ Finally, so important, not to say threatening, does the worship of Ktesios seem to have become, that the goddess arrogated his powers and was worshipped as Athena Ktesia.⁶¹ Something of this struggle and arrogation is symbolized, I believe, by the presence of the great reptiles on the temple of Athena Polias. The goddess allows Zeus a place of honor on her temple as a way of indicating her assumption of his power. What had originally been a simple apotropaic cult of the household had become, under political and economic pressure, an active productive force which was then made to serve the city as well and to guard the house of Athena and its treasure beneath.⁶² It might be for these reasons that the Hekatompedon snake rears with great,

⁵⁵ It was only in late times that it was believed that there were two temple guardian snakes: Hesychius s.v. *olkoupsōs* ὄφις. Photius *Lex.* s.v. *olkoupsōn* ὄφις.

⁵⁶ E. Gerhard, *Über Agathodämon und Bona Dea* (Berlin 1849) pp. 3, 23 guessed that Ktesios was probably anguiform, which the stele from Thespieae confirmed: Thebes Mus. inv. #330, which has on it a coiled snake inscribed with the name of the god in characters of the 3rd c. B.C. M. Nilsson *AM* 33 (1908) 279-88. J. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge 1912) pp. 296ff., fig. 79. A. B. Cook, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) II, 2, pp. 1054ff., 1060ff., fig. 914. For the snake in European household worship: Nilsson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 52) p. 328ff.

⁵⁷ Menander says Ktesios was the protector of storehouses and it was part of his function to guard these against thieves and harlots, *PseudoHerakles* frag. 519. As giver of goods, *Il.* 2, 670; 23, 298ff.; 24, 527. E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst u. Rel.* (Giessen 1913) p. 145. Nilsson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 52) p. 327; *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1947) pp. 67, 78. Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 55-6. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 53ff.

⁵⁸ Aisch. *Suppl.* 445, here he is first referred to as Ktesios: "Now when goods are plundered from a homestead, other goods may come by grace of Zeus, guardian of household wealth. . . ." Isaeus 8, 16 (ed. G. Schoemann 1831): "τῷ Διὶ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστα ἐκείνους θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὐτε δούλους προσήγεν οὐτε ἐλευθέρους ἀφνειούς, ἀλλ'

αὐτὸς δι' ἐαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποία, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινοῦνόμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειροῦργομεν καὶ συνεπετίθεμεν καὶ τ' ἄλλα συνοισιόμεν, καὶ ἡύχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν δίδόναι καὶ κτήσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ὄντα πάμπαν." Suidas s.v. *Zeὺς κτήσιος*, "ὡς Πλουτοδότῃν." Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 55-6.

⁵⁹ Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 52ff., 57ff. As he states: "This happened when the narrow household god united with the god of the storehouse (*ταμείων*) and expanded." Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 299, for Athena Polias as guardian of the household treasury.

⁶⁰ Isaeus 8, 16 (quotation *supra* n. 58). Zeus Ktesios had altars at the Peiraeus: Antiphon 1, 16, 18 and at Phlya, Paus. 1, 31, 4 and Frazer's commentary. *CIA* 3, 2, no. 3854, 1ff. Dem. *Mid.* 21, 15, 53 mentions a white bull sacrificed to Zeus Ktesios, no mean gift. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin 1889) p. 208. Cook, *Zeus* II, 2, p. 1065. Sjoevall, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 38) pp. 57ff.

⁶¹ Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 303 and n. 65. F. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen 1857) I, p. 314.

⁶² Farnell, *Higher Aspects*, p. 1: Hellenic polytheism is a "pre-eminently social-political one, that is, in which man's attachment to the divine powers is rooted in his corporate life . . . in the economy of the household, the tribe, the city." These aspects of man's corporate life shifted emphasis increasingly from the household and tribe and more and more to the city, to the Attic state, pp. 21, 65.

threatening jaws to a new apotropaic magnitude.

The one other important form of snake-worship in Attica was dedicated to Zeus as Meilichios. In fact, Thucydides specifies that toward the close of the 7th century the Diasia, the festival held in honor of Meilichios, was the greatest of the Attic festivals for Zeus.⁶³ The Diasia was an agricultural rite, held outside the city, as Thucydides says, and to it the citizens brought country-side sacrifices. As Aristophanes also reveals, by his time it had dwindled to a "family feast and country-fair, a proper place to buy a toy-cart for a little boy."⁶⁴ But in the mid-6th century Zeus Meilichios was still a potent deity. Nowhere else did he receive a greater worship than in Attica where he had some five sanctuaries,⁶⁵ quite as we might expect in an agricultural community whose feeble soil had ever yielded only niggardly gains. In view of this paucity of agrarian production any fertility god or power in Attica was bound to be much venerated and propitiated.⁶⁶ Meilichios was particularly so, as Nilsson points out, for the god's very name signifies "the One who has been Propitiated." As Farnell states, Meilichios must be propitiated in order that the season of fertility may return again.⁶⁷ Harrison, too, remarks that Meilichios must have been regarded as an important source of wealth, since holocausts, not just tidbits, were his offerings, to mollify his dreadful and grudging powers.⁶⁸

From what is generally known of the role of the

snake in connection with such fertility cults⁶⁹ it is not surprising that Zeus Meilichios was anguiform, as can be proven from several illustrations, particularly on certain reliefs from the Peiraeus. Some of these, of the 3rd century B.C., still represent the god as he had appeared on the Hekatompedon pediment, undulant, bearded and with wide jaws of great venom and aggression.⁷⁰

It was no gentle collection of guardians that Athena was gathering on her temple, and it is surely a notable mark of her own tremendous powers that she was able to curb and rally these gods of hearth and field, Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Meilichios. In view of the importance of these anguiform deities in Attic cult worship it seems reasonable to suppose that it was they whom the citizens of Athens recognized as they approached from below. For, indeed, what other beliefs in snake form in Athens at this time were of more importance to her people?

We turn to the final problem, one of considerable complexity, the lion motifs that are repeated three times on this single temple. A single idea that is thrice hammered in must have arisen from a very great need to reiterate an emphatic and powerful cult belief.⁷¹ In one of the scenes a pair of lions sits quietly, and in the other two scenes lions tear a bull. What, in essence, is the theme about? It is a bouphonia, a bull-slaying, shown with great power and once even with such ferocity that the blood of

⁶³ Thuc. 1, 126. O. Band, *Die Attischen Diasien* (Berlin 1883) pp. 4ff. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) pp. 421ff. Cook, *Zeus* I, p. 687 and II, 2, p. 1138 and n. 1. RE. s.v. "Diasia."

⁶⁴ Aristoph. *Nu.* 408ff., 861ff. Cook, *Zeus* II, 2, p. 1141.

⁶⁵ Most prominent place of cult worship was an altar on the Kephisos: Paus. 1, 37, 4. W. Judeich, *Topogr. von Athen*, pp. 362ff. A secondary sanctuary at the Ilissos: A. Skias, *Ephem.* (1894) 133ff. Cook, *Zeus* II, 2, pp. 1115ff. On the Hill of the Nymphs: *CIA* II, 3, nos. 1584, 1585; suppl. p. 190 nr. 528, 1. S. Reinach, *BCH* 16 (1892) 411-417. At the Peiraeus, Meilichios was associated with Zeus Philios: A. Furtwängler, *SBBay* (1897) 406ff. cf. W. Judeich, *Topogr.*, p. 383. At Alopeke, near Mt. Lykabettos: S. Reinach (*supra*).

⁶⁶ Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 66ff.

⁶⁷ Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 69ff. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1922) p. 22ff. Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 64ff., 117 and n. 138. E. Rohde, *Psyche* II (Tübingen 1921) p. 237 and n. 1. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* II (Berlin 1894) pp. 129ff.

⁶⁸ Harrison, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 67) p. 15.

⁶⁹ Küster, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 57) pp. 137ff., although he regards Zeus Meilichios more specifically as chthonian.

⁷⁰ Peiraeus reliefs showing Zeus Meilichios in snake-form: *Antike Skulpturen der Berlin. Mus.* (Berlin 1891) pp. 270-1, nos. 722-24; 724 is inscribed with the name of Meilichios. R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Die griechische Skulptur* (Berlin 1907)

p. 202. P. Foucart, *BCH* 7 (1883) 509, nos. 5, 6, 8. DarSag 3, 1700ff., fig. 4892. Harrison, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 67) pp. 17ff., figs. 1, 2, 4. *CIA* II, 3 no. 1581. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs grecs et romains* II (Paris 1912) 31, no. 4 (pl. 83, fig. 13). This example is inscribed, Διὶ Μειλίχῳ above the snake, although it is not clear in the illustration).

⁷¹ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 146-7, disposes these accordingly: East pediment, between the Herakles-Triton and the triple-bodied monster is the group of two lions rending a bull (Heberdey VIII) (Pl. 83, fig. 14); on the West pediment between the serpents is a couchant lion group on the left (Heberdey IX), (Pl. 84, fig. 15), and on the right a lioness rending a calf (Heberdey VII), (Pl. 84, fig. 16). "Discussion on the exact locations and interrelation of the [lion groups] . . . must here be passed over in view of the more complicated investigation demanded by the loss of all exact evidence as to the relation of background heights to joints. Enough has been presented, however, to clarify the form and dimensions of the pediments and the arrangement of the sculptures within them, at both east and west." Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 5) p. 72. C. Watzinger in Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 214f., 219ff., figs. 230, 238-9. Heberdey, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 77ff. Dickins, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 77, 87ff., 110ff., figs. 54, 55, 66, 67, 83, 103-108. Schuchhardt, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 64ff., figs. 8, 14, 15. Broneer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) 98, fig. 6. E. Buschor, *SBBay* II 1 (1941) p. 22. Ch. Picard *RA* 21 (April 1944) 159.

violent death visibly flows.⁷² But what was the bull to Athena or to the Athenians of 565 B.C. that he should be exorcised so fiercely by a pair of lions in the center of the main pediment, and in the west façade by a lioness, on this the chief temple of the city?⁷³

The bull was associated in Greek life with three deities: Poseidon, Dionysos and Zeus. Since we have seen Poseidon in the guise of Triton bested already on this temple, it would be easy to regard this as another, more thorough expression of the same wish. Undeniably there is a certain validity to such an interpretation, but it cannot be the main interpretation chiefly because Poseidon in bull form, while very prominent in other parts of Greece, was of no local importance.

As for Dionysos, it was all very well for the ancient hymn to sing in his honor the bull-driving dithyramb:⁷⁴

In Spring-time, O Dionysos,
To thy holy temple come,
To Elis with thy Graces,
Rushing with the bull-foot, come,
Noble Bull, Noble Bull.

But this is written of the Dionysos of Elis. While that god played a part impressive enough in Attic ritual to give rise to the drama, he was not featured locally in his bull aspect. Nor was his death celebrated in bull form in the Aiora, the Attic Swinging Festival held in his honor. The only god of the three whose bull aspect had any significance in Attica was Zeus, and this was significant indeed.

It is my belief, therefore, that these buphonia

scenes represent the *Bouphonia*, the central ritual of the Dipoleia, one of the oldest ceremonies of Attic worship. In spite of Thucydides' remark on the Diasia,⁷⁵ this was at least as important a festival in Athens prior to the consecration of the Panathenaia.⁷⁶ The Dipoleia was held in honor of Zeus Polieus and derived its name from his.⁷⁷ Its rites were markedly primitive, of the stuff that furnish the anthropologist and student of early religion with much material and insight:⁷⁸ briefly, an ox was annually slain at the altar of Zeus Polieus, and his flesh was eaten at a communal feast, a *dais*.⁷⁹ But his hide was stuffed with hay, sewn together, then yoked and set to the plough. At the same time, this sacrifice was so perilous, so charged with magic and mana, that the participants ceremonially accused each other in turn of the murder of the sacred bull until finally the guilt descended to the sacrificial weapon which was formally tried in the courts for murder and sentenced to death by drowning.⁸⁰ For a long time it has been argued whether this was a harvest ceremony, one intended to insure the first-fruits of the following year, or whether it was totemic in origin, and communally shared in order to strengthen the ties of kinship between the citizens and the divinity or divine power represented by the bull.⁸¹ In either case, what is important at this time is to realize this: though the bull had come to be regarded by the fifth century as the animal *offered up* to sacrifice in honor of Zeus Polieus, he was originally (and apparently as late as the 6th century) regarded as the actual deity himself.⁸² Jane Harrison makes this point clear in

(Berlin 1932) pp. 158ff.

⁷² A. Mommsen, *Heortologie* (Leipzig 1864) pp. 449-54; *Feste*, pp. 512ff. Farnell, *Cults I*, p. 57. Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* pp. 424; *Art and Ritual* (London 1948) pp. 89ff. Wissowa *RE* s.v. "Buphonia"; *ibid.* suppl. III, s.v. "Dipoleia." Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906) pp. 14-16. Deubner, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 78).

⁷³ Paus. 1, 24, 4. Porph. *Abst.* 2, 29, from Theophrastus.

⁷⁴ Paus. 1, 28, 10. P. Stengel, *Opferbräucher der Griechen* (Berlin 1910) pp. 209ff. W. Hyde "The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law" *AJP* 38 (1917) 159ff.

⁷⁵ Farnell, *Cults I*, pp. 57ff., 88ff. Frazer, *Golden Bough* V, 2 (London 1920) pp. 4ff. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 141ff. W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London 1927) pp. 218-227, 304, championed the notion of totemism. For the refutation of this, W. Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (London 1931) pp. 108ff. Cook, *Zeus III*, pp. 591, 598 and notes 5, 6.

⁷⁶ Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 150, 156. On the sacred power of the bull: Cook, *Zeus I*, pp. 633ff. G. Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (Boston 1951) pp. 19ff. Elderkin regards the ox-slaying of the Dipoleia as an annual re-enactment of the slaying of Erechtheus by Zeus, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 115.

⁷² The aggression toward the bull is unmistakable as these descriptions from Dickens' *Cat. of the Acropolis Museum* will testify: "The group represents a bull pulled down by two lions who pin him from opposite sides by his horns and left hind leg, while they rest their weight on his body and dig their claws into his side. The bull is thus pressed down flat against the ground . . ." pp. 67, 68-9; in describing the lioness devouring the bull: "The bull is crushed flat, his head pressed down between his shoulders and his forelegs splayed out . . ." pp. 76-7. Lapalus, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 6) 105ff.

⁷³ E. Rambo, *Lions in Greek Art* (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1918) p. 21, barely touches on the subject though she is plainly baffled by it: "Now the bull slayer [lion] has some meaning unknown to us but apparently fundamental, else why should it decorate coins, vases, stelae, sarcophagi, even in Athens the old temple of Athena, who seems to have no relation with either bull or lion."

⁷⁴ Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 36. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena* p. 437. Farnell, *Cults V*, pp. 125ff.

⁷⁵ *Supra* p. 17 and n. 63.

⁷⁶ J. Harrison and M. Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, pp. 426-7.

⁷⁷ Cook, *Zeus III*, pp. 575-4ff. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*

discussing an Attic black-figure illustration of a bull and Athena in which the goddess is honoring the sacred animal which stands alone within a sanctuary; obviously no routine sacrifice is being illustrated.⁸³ It has been noted, also, that it was only later that the dais, the communal feast, was translated into an ordinary *thuria*, a sacrifice to a god, and no longer of a god.⁸⁴ Hence, even in the early 6th century it is still probably the primitive god, who came to be called Zeus Polieus, that was slain at the Dipoleia. But the reason Zeus Polieus was represented as slain, and, further, as symbolically slain on Athena's temple, are questions that must occupy us more closely.

The reason for the symbolic slaying is not hard to find. The Greeks of this period, at least, did not represent ritual ceremonies literally. To show a dying bull was easy, but to have represented him with priests, water-carriers, knife-sharpener and attendants was unthinkable in the archaic period, and, instead, the animal slaying motif was substituted, a scheme both familiar and effectively adaptable to the gable shape. But the second point is more difficult to explain: the relationship of Zeus Polieus to Athena Polias. In explicating this it is essential to realize that the bull is being shown as either in the act of being slain or as already powerless and about to be dismembered by the lion. In other words here the god is definitely not being honored, but, quite the opposite, is being shown by the Athenians as defeated and powerless. Why?

A clue to the answer is indicated by a quotation from Aristophanes' *Clouds* where Injustice describes the austere education of former days as "old-fashioned and Dipoleia-like, and full of grasshoppers and of Kerkydes and of the Bouphonia."⁸⁵ If by that period the old crude rites of imitative magic were already reduced to something embarrassing and foolish, this denigrating attitude must have had its beginnings at least by the 6th century,

and for the same reasons that were indicated earlier in connection with the worship of Ktesios: once-important deities of agriculture were passé, no longer sufficient to a community that was beginning to expand into a commercial center and to aspire to urban sophistication.⁸⁶ This economic shift had begun when Solon had relieved somewhat the backward economic conditions of the 7th century by his land and debt reforms.⁸⁷ But Solon still could not alter the soil that had been impoverished to the limit. Hence, as the gods associated with trade and the city were fostered by the local inhabitants, the agricultural ones who had failed were ground under heel and abused.

There would seem to be a considerable contradiction in this discussion of the aggressive handling of Zeus Polieus, for in discussing Zeus Herkeios, Ktesios and Meilichios it was shown, presumably, that in these particular aspects the god was being honored. Then to turn about abruptly and attempt to demonstrate that the same god was now being torn to pieces by the same worshippers—that seems too much. But that is exactly what did happen in actual cult worship. The former and milder aspects were honored and kept intact, while the more threatening power of Polieus required that the god be torn to pieces. The ambivalence and contradiction was of the Athenians' own making. And even more, these ambivalent feelings were directed not only toward *different aspects* of the same god but even toward *different phases of the same aspect*. For example, toward the agricultural Zeus Polieus the Athenians exhibited violent aggression, a desire for riddance and ridicule, as Aristophanes shows; on the other hand, they cultivated with great respect that phase of Polieus which fitted in with their civic, non-agrarian scheme. Witness: in his capacity as Polieus, Zeus was not only the bull of rustic fertility, he was also Boulaios and as such was required to look after and reorganize the

⁸³ Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 427, fig. 37; *Themis*, p. 145, fig. 25. F. Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer* (Heidelberg 1927) p. 111. Cook, *Zeus III*, p. 613, fig. 414. E. Gerhard, *AV* 4, 6ff., pl. 242, 1. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 116 (Pl. 84, fig. 17).

⁸⁴ Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 147, 150.

⁸⁵ Aristoph. *Nu.* 984ff.

⁸⁶ Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 426.

⁸⁷ J. Bury, *History of Greece* I (London 1951) p. 202. *CAH* IV, pp. 26ff., 38ff., 61ff., 595ff. vividly points out how the Athenians took virtually no part in the economic and colonial movements of the 8th and 7th centuries, but relied still on agriculture which had been worked to the limits. "Once the economic pressure was relieved, the Athenians soon learnt to make full use of their national opportunities and gifts of

mind." But operating rapidly as they had to in moving with haste to make up for lost time economically speaking, the Athenians also rapidly modernized their gods, rendering them more aggressive and forceful. It should also be noted in connection with these economic developments that in one of Solon's ventures, the wresting of Salamis from Megara and the reduction of the latter's naval operations in local waters in 570 B.C., Peisistratos first gained his reputation. Although he remained the local hero between 570-565, we do not know how much the future tyrant had to do with the Hekatompedon and its appointments. Since, however, he regarded Athena as his patron goddess and had much to do with the initiation of her great festival, he may also have had some ideas concerning the selection of the Hekatompedon sculptural theme.

clan system of the city; the civic administrators prayed to him in the council-chamber for legal help, and his statue, a very ancient xoanon, stood by them as they deliberated.⁸⁸ Religious notions in a period of development such as this are complex indeed, so that it is possible for one phase of one aspect to be rejected while another is kept and strengthened.⁸⁹ The cruder side of Zeus was gotten rid of to clear the way for his urban administrative potentialities, and, by the same token, for those of Athena Polias; but more, to allow for the rise of his intellectual preeminence, the preeminence that characterized the Olympian Zeus himself and with which the phase of the civic Zeus-Polieus-Boulaios fitted in.

In discoursing thus on the rise of Athena and Zeus and of the concentration of power in her hands, which is the essence of this paper, it is necessary to point out that at the same time Athena was herself undergoing an analogous rise to the role of Athena Polias and Boulaia.⁹⁰ In the race for Attic supremacy it would seem that Athena ran parallel to Zeus. As Ktesia, Boulaia and Polias she won the race and once again she arrogated Zeus' title. His most important title locally became her most important name. Perhaps it is for this reason, to stress her victorious assumption of the title of Polias, that the Dipoleia theme is centrally placed and reiterated on the pediments of her temple. In any case her triumph over Zeus was so assured that the Panathenaia,⁹¹ became her triumphal procession and the Hekatompedon her trophy. But she won the contest because she had the one prime element in her character which Zeus,

for all his political beneficence, did not have: she was the goddess of war, of the art of war. Hers was an aggressive temperament better adjusted to the needs of incipient empire than his.⁹² Thus, in addition to her domestic, political and social aspects which she exemplified as Ktesia, Boulaia and Polias, and which she shared with the peaceable Olympian Zeus, there was inseparably blended her craft for imperial dominance. Zeus Polieus, consequently, was eventually forced to bow to Athena Polias, he placed the sacrificial utensils of his rites in her temple treasury on the Akropolis⁹³ while he himself departed to the new temple built for him below in the Lower Town by Peisistratos.⁹⁴ Athena's supremacy on the citadel was secure, while only Polieus' statue and altar were left up above and simply "continued to be the scene of the earliest sacrifice on the citadel with Boutes as priest."⁹⁵

While we have tried to account at least for the role of the bull in these pedimental sculptures, we had best examine, even briefly, before leaving the point altogether the role of the lion. As was previously stated, the lion and bull formed a convenient *aesthetic*, familiar motif, but that again does not wholly account for the *role* of the lion, particularly of the non-combative pair. It might be enough to indicate that the lion was the "natural" choice for representation, in lieu of the realistic ritual slaying, because only he had the right, given by might, to pull down the bull, the divine "lord of the forest."⁹⁶ In contrast, the bull is a familiar beast, while the lion is not, and, in fact, it is questionable whether the mainland Greeks of this period ever saw one alive. For them he occu-

rendered subordinate.

⁸⁸ Paus. 1, 3, 4; 1, 24, 4. Antiphon 6, 45 (ed. L. Gernet, Paris 1923) p. 155. *Cl. A.* III, 683; *ibid.* 272, 1025. Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 56ff., n. 110; *Higher Aspects* p. 68. The statue of Zeus Boulaios in the Bouleuterion was a xoanon and hence very ancient, Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* pp. 54, 423. There was a later one by Leochares.

⁸⁹ Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 35: "The study of the cults of Zeus is perhaps the most interesting chapter of the history of Greek religion for it includes the two extremes of religious thought, the most primitive ideas side by side with the most advanced."

⁹⁰ Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 58, 293, notes how in primitive times Athena had also been a goddess of sowing, harvest and vintage, but that this agricultural aspect was superseded by her more important political and civil character, pp. 293, 304, 319. O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* (Berlin 1926) p. 186, on Athena's close and very ancient association with Zeus.

⁹¹ Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 294. As he puts it, the Panathenaia commemorated the "foundation of the civic upon the primitive agricultural community . . . the ritual consecrated to the goddess of war and the arts, and as the expression of the imperial power and artistic preeminence of Athens." But this could not have happened before the agricultural gods were

⁹² Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 299 and note 35f., declarations of war were often accompanied by prayers or vows to Athena Polias; the ephebes sacrificed to her at the conclusion of their military service; she was the goddess of the Art of war, not, like Ares, of the *lust* of war, pp. 309-10. Farnell also comments on how remarkable it was that Zeus, although the god of a war-like people, seldom appears as a war-god. ". . . a proof of the civilized quality of the religion of Zeus." p. 59. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 9) p. 106.

⁹³ *CIG* I, 140, 141, 150. Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 58, 160 n. 107e.

⁹⁴ Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* pp. 147, 427. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 147ff. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 123ff.

⁹⁵ O. Jahn, *Giove Polieo in Atene* (Leipzig 1865) pp. 1-24, pl. 1. J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmyth.* (Leipzig 1871) I, pp. 19 and fig. 4, 24, 54ff. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (London 1887) p. 137ff., pls. 331-3. Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 242. Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 58. Cook, *Zeus* III, pp. 510 and n. 5, 589 and n. 7.

⁹⁶ Dickens, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) p. 30 offers a somewhat similar interpretation.

pied a status half real, half mythical, and was endowed with actual and exotic powers sufficient to level the bull, the commensurate known.

What the symbolic intent is, however, in the case of the quiescent lions it is not possible to state, nor will it be until the whole question of the lion and its significance in Greek art and life is thoroughly examined. One can only offer the meagrest suggestions and those with hesitancy. The artist seems to have intended to counterbalance one combative group by the other pair of large, but inactive beasts, so that there is a crude notion of action and stasis counterposed. But that would only indicate the aesthetic intent behind the choice and not the symbolic. I can only suggest that the quiet beasts sat like great powers, sated and benign and willing for the time being to pass as apotropaia,⁹⁷ rather than as executioners. Possibly the whole role of the lion on the Hekatompedon might indicate a contemporary attempt by the Athenians to force this beast into their local mythology, to make it an attribute of Athena, if not actually an aspect of the goddess herself. As the acknowledged king of the beasts, the lion was, perhaps, a challenge to the Olympianizing activity of the period. But any such attempt was doomed to failure, for the lion was forever too wild and intractable to fit into the disciplined, intellectualizing Olympian system. At best he could only be yoked to a Cybele or to Artemis, the goddess of wild beasts herself. Perhaps it was just such an abortive attempt of this sort, to implicate the five lions of the pediments with Athena. Below, on the metopes, there were more.

Dinsmoor has identified a series of eight lions and leopards which served as metope decorations of the front façade.⁹⁸ The prototypes for these beasts seem to have been the pair of lion-panthers that flanked the Gorgon-Medusa on the pediments

of the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra.⁹⁹ Like those beasts, the Attic ones turn boldly *en face*. But, although the Corcyra pediments may have afforded the artistic inspiration, the ideological motivation for including these lions and leopards was Attic in origin: here again the goddess has shepherded the powers of nature, exotic ones perhaps, but still of the field, and curbed them to the defense of her house.

One more theme decorated the Hekatompedon. The akroteria carried figures of the Gorgon and Perseus. Here again we have an echo of the major theme of the Corcyrean temple.¹⁰⁰ But where that edifice had ignored the Perseus and emphasized the demonic dominant power of the Gorgon by placing her at the center of the pediments, the Athena temple allowed her to flit at the peak of the front gable while pursued by the figure of Perseus at the apex of the rear.¹⁰¹ Once again the forces of nature, but of aggressive and demonic power, which the Gorgons symbolized, are threatened and checked by one of at least semi-Olympian origin.¹⁰²

Over and over again the Hekatompedon sculptures reiterate the same idea: the forces of nature, be they fertile and beneficent, or wild and threatening, all are either rent, subdued or harnessed by the intellectualizing, urban and Olympian forces represented by Athena and her champions Herakles and Perseus who are themselves at least partially of Olympian birth. It is in these terms that we can understand these theomachies between Athena and Poseidon, Athena and Zeus, for local supremacy at this particular time and place. They are not to be explained, it would seem to me, as Farnell and Harrison have done, at least not by so late a date as the 6th century, as struggles for power between new settlers and the aboriginal in-

⁹⁷ Lapalus, *BCH* 70 (1946) pp. 300-1; *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 6) pp. 104ff., regards these as apotropaia. It should be noted that the non-combative pair of lions is so fragmentary that no attempt can be made to reproduce them in illustration. For lions as apotropaia: Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³ V (New York 1935) pp. 182ff.

⁹⁸ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 149ff., pl. 28, 3. His arrangement is of eight reclining animals arranged in four heraldic pairs, two pairs of leopards in the middle, flanked by a pair of lions in either corner; *Arch. of Anc. Gr.*², p. 72. H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculptures from the Acropolis* (London 1936) pls. 13, 1; 15, 1-4. H. Schrader, *Die archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen* (Vienna 1909) p. 11, fig. 8. (Pl. 84, fig. 18.)

⁹⁹ G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels von Korkyra II* (Berlin 1939) pp. 140-3, 150-2, 155, 189, 190, figs. 170-2.

¹⁰⁰ Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 99) II, pls. 1-9, figs. 3-29; *Die altdorische Bildwerke in Korfu* (Berlin 1938) pls. 10-15.

¹⁰¹ Wiegand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) pp. 47ff. Schrader, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 98) pp. 1-10, 14, figs. 2, 3, 5, 7, 13. Dickinson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 12) #701, p. 269. G. von Lücken, *AM* 44 (1919) pp. 54-5, n. 1. H. Schrader, *JDAI* 43 (1928) pp. 54-62, 66, figs. 6, 10, 2. C. Hopkins, *AJA* 38 (1934) p. 354, fig. 10. E. Buschor, *AM* 60/61 (1935/36) pp. 289-292. Payne, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 98) pp. 10ff., pls. 1; 13, 2-6 contends that one of the two akroterion figures is Perseus; *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 84, n. 1; 242, n. 2; 252 and n. 5; 253. Dinsmoor regards both as running Gorgons, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 149. Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 100) p. 192 fig. 173. (Head of Gorgon figure, pl. 84, fig. 19. Torso of Perseus, pl. 84, fig. 20.)

¹⁰² This has been dealt with in greater detail in "The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head," *AJA* 58 (1954).

habitants.¹⁰³ Rather, this was an internal problem, experienced by a single people, or at least one long since unified, which was growing up to intellectual and political maturity.¹⁰⁴ These Hekatompedon theomachies, instead of symbolizing the struggles arising from the Ionian immigration which had taken place centuries before, are signs of contemporary struggle. They are the preliminary indications, on a popular level, of the contest Aischylos glorified a century later when he showed the development of the Erinyes to the Eumenides, the transition from uncontrolled, primitive aggression to powers of Olympian discretion. But the triumph which the Parthenon sculptures and Aischylos' *Oresteia* expressed in finished form the Hekatompedon displayed quite crudely and indirectly.

¹⁰³ *CAH* III, ch. 23, 3, pp. 576ff. Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 270ff., IV, pp. 47ff. Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* p. lix.

¹⁰⁴ F. Schachermeyer, *Poseidon* (Bern 1950) pp. 35ff. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 9) pp. 218ff., finds the one fundamental cleavage in Greek religion the line between the Olympians and

The temple itself, erected about 566 B.C., with such expense, labor and certainly pride, quickly became obsolete; it was too small and too cumbersome with its row of columns down the center and its porch which was tristyle in antis.¹⁰⁵ Most outmoded of all must have been the sculptures. The severe and elegant taste of the Athenians of the early 5th century must have looked with embarrassment, if not boredom, at this, the mythological zoo of their grandfathers. It was undoubtedly with rare relief that by 490 B.C. the temple was demolished which a scant three score years before had been so important and so impressive. But such had been the growth of Attic intellect.

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the chthonians, the spirits of the earth who were concerned with fertility as well as the area beyond the grave. The real struggle lay between these two, according to him.

¹⁰⁵ Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 1) pp. 140ff., 149 fig. 7.



News Letter from Rome¹

A. W. VAN BUREN

PLATES 85-92

THE following pages are a continuation of those presented a year ago in the special sense that they are largely devoted to recording the further progress of the same undertakings, and especially those which have been so skillfully financed from the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*. The nature of the most ponderous undertaking of all, that at Pompeii, makes it advisable to defer reporting its development until some future occasion.

We begin with ROME. A year ago mention was made of the important discovery in the area of the House of Livia on the Palatine of an incineration burial of the First Age of Iron.² The generosity of Dr. Gianfilippo Carettoni now makes it possible to present a photograph (pl. 85, fig. 1) of the principal objects from this burial. Dr. Carettoni also reports the detachment of the painted surfaces of the central room of the Casa dei Grifi, executed by the Istituto Centrale del Restauro, the completion of the restoration of the *aedicula* of Juturna at the Roman Forum, and the restoration and systematization of the atrium of the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua, the apertures of which have now been fitted with glass for the better preservation of the painted surfaces. In the zone of the Vigna Barberini, on the summit of the Palatine, a *cantiera scuola* has resumed the excavation of the large foundation.³

As is well known, one of the most awkward problems facing the Roman administration during these recent years has been the definitive systematization of the Circus Maximus. A practical solution is now on the verge of realization: a verdant park is to be created, thus ensuring the *Vallis Murcia* against utilitarian encroachments; the general lines and contours of the ancient circus are to be respected through the removal of the earth which has accumulated in the arena to a depth of 3.50 meters, the maintenance of the sloping sides of the

valley in conformity with the ancient banks of seats, and the planting of shrubbery along the line followed by the ancient *spina*.

The surfaces of some familiar monuments of Rome have begun to show the cumulative effects of the vibrations caused by heavy motor traffic, and also the disintegration due to the increasing pollution of the atmosphere by chemical substances. Thus it has proved necessary to subject the façade of the Pantheon to a thorough reconditioning with the application of recently developed techniques; and at present the attention of the responsible agencies is being devoted to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Arch of Constantine and the Colosseum. Meanwhile, in April 1955, a portion of the Antonine Baths has been dislodged by a bolt of lightning.

At the Roman museums, the outstanding event has been the inauguration, on April 6, 1955, of the modernized northern wing of the Museo di Villa Giulia.⁴ With skillful use of the most recent devices of museum technique, especially as regards mounting, lighting and circulation, the incomparable series of objects resulting from the systematic series of campaigns of the past few decades in Southern Etruria, as well as sporadic finds from the mountainous interior, together with many of the small bronzes and terracottas already in the antiquarian section of the museum, are now exhibited with great effectiveness; in some instances, the equipments of individual burials have been kept together, but in general the arrangement adopted—in the exhibition halls as distinguished from the rooms for study—is by classes and groups. The bucchero, or the Attic, vases would in themselves make this an exhibit of great distinction. As thus arranged, the various assemblages of ceramic products, whether of local fabrication or imported, are self-explanatory. For example, owing largely to the

¹ The most recent installment of these reports appeared in *AJA* 58 (1954) 323-331, pls. 66-77. For material generously communicated on the present occasion with permission to publish, sincere thanks are due to Messrs. D. Adamesteanu, J. Bayet, I. Bovio Marconi, G. Caputo, G. Carettoni, B. Civiletti, A. Degrassi, G. V. Gentili, P. Griffo, P. Orlandini, A. Radmilli, L. Richardson, and P. C. Sestieri.

² *AJA* 58 (1954) 324. Now published, *BPI*, Nuova Serie,

9-Vol. 64 (1954-55) 261-276.

³ G. Lugli, *BullComm* 69 (1941) 44-53.

⁴ Attractive pamphlet, produced by Tipografia Artistica A. Nardini, Via del Babuino 12, Rome: *Il Nuovo Museo di Villa Giulia*, with *Presentazione* by the Soprintendente for Southern Etruria, Dr. Renato Bartoccini; *Il Rinnovamento Architettonico*, by Franco Minissi; *Le Collezioni Archeologiche*, by Roberto Vighi.

remarkably fruitful series of campaigns at Caere, conducted chiefly under the direction of Raniero Mengarelli, all the successive phases can be traced—with the minimum exercise of patience in going from one room to another—of the characteristic jar with tall, truncated-conical neck and two strap-handles, which was indigenous to the region of Caere and eventually was adapted and interpreted by the Athenian potter Nikosthenes in his highly successful, frankly commercial endeavor to capture some of the patronage of the wealthy Etruscan community.⁵ Again, the same necropolis yielded several other groups of both Corinthian and Attic wares which were obviously produced more or less wholesale at the potteries of these Greek cities and exported in bulk—perhaps through intermediaries—to Etruria: not to mention the obvious instances where some outstanding pair of Attic products has always remained together as part of the same funerary equipment. Many such details, which had previously been known only to specialists from scattered observations in the publications, can now become part of the visual experience of the visitor to this remarkable museum, which has thus already taken on itself a fresh lease of life. The world of scholarship will wish its able staff equal success in dealing with the installation of the important contents of the southern wing of the enlarged museum, derived from Latin, Volscian and Hernican territory.

The Birthday of Rome, April 21, 1955, witnessed the inauguration of the Museo della Civiltà Romana, in what is intended to be its permanent installation in the *Quartiere dell'Esposizione*.⁶

Classical students should not overlook the Museo di Roma, now worthily housed in the Palazzo Braschi near the Piazza Navona: for its special field, Rome of the Middle Ages and later periods, includes much material which is of interest in relation to antiquity. Thus, among its recent acquisitions is an oil painting of the 1700's showing the mausoleum of the Villa of the Gordians at the third mile of the Via Praenestina, before the collapse of its pronaos which presented some striking features. The same museum has also acquired what appears to be the only known painted portrait of that great interpreter of the Roman "magnificence," Giovanni Battista Piranesi. In various ways, the communal museums are benefiting by the support

and the interest of a special organization, *Amici dei Musei di Roma*.⁷ They have begun to issue, with the help of the *Amici*, an informative periodical, *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*.

Air-photography has revealed the plan of the vast late-classical villa of Centocelle on the Via Labicana near the fourth milestone.⁸

The great undertaking at OSTIA was brought to a satisfactory completion several years ago as regards the actual work of excavation; and already two volumes of the definitive official publication have appeared. Sporadic discoveries, however, are being made from time to time as incidents in the systematization of the excavated area. Thus, in April of 1955, the Roman press reported the finding near the so-called "Mercati di Traiano" of a male portrait head in Parian marble of the age of the Antonines; also three inscriptions and a large black-and-white mosaic with the representation of Actaeon being devoured by his hounds. Meanwhile, a campaign of excavation has been begun in the zone of the necropolis bordering the Via Laurentina, for the purpose of solving some problems relating to the date of the earliest tombs. It has thus proved possible to trace the boundaries of certain funerary enclosures and to find some burials in ollae, covered by amphorae, within the border of the enclosures themselves.

In the territory of LAURENTUM, the exploration of the series of villas along the Via Severiana is being pursued methodically; there is always the possibility of finding the villa of the Younger Pliny, so attractively described in his letter, *Ep.* 2.17.⁹

Near the southern limit of the Latin coast, the impressive and extensive remains of the villa at SPERLONGA (anc. Spelunca) are being surveyed and studied by Dr. Giorgio Gullini.

In Northern Campania, at Sant' Angelo in Formis, the investigations of Padre Antonio Ferrua beneath the pavement of the famous church have revealed remains which are to be associated with the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina.

The news from Professor Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri's Soprintendenza, including the extreme southern part of Campania and all of Lucania with adjacent territory, fully maintains the interest of recent years.¹⁰ Professor Sestieri generously communicates information and photographs which serve as the basis for the following account.

⁵ S. B. Luce, *AJA* 29 (1925) 39-52.

⁶ *AJA* 51 (1947) 281; 57 (1953) 212.

⁷ *AJA* 53 (1949) 377-8.

⁸ T. Ashby, *PBSR* 1 (1902) 227-230.

⁹ *AJA* 53 (1949) 378.

¹⁰ *AJA* 58 (1954) 325-6.

The Roman villa at MINORI¹¹—soon after its complete clearance—was buried for the second time by the great cloudbursts of October 1954. A work-force has now been assigned to the task of clearing it once more—this will prove a lengthy and laborious process, since the deposit reaches a depth of some five meters.

At PAESTUM, the excavations have been carried further in the area of the urban sanctuary, in a zone extending northward from the Forum as far as a point some 130 meters south of the temple "of Ceres" (now ascertained to be sacred to Athena). Near the amphitheater the remains of a long portico have been followed, which turn towards the north and flank the Sacred Way as far as the neighborhood of the temple of Athena. Various remains of fountains and edifices of Roman date have come to light, including part of a house with compluviate atrium.

The outstanding discovery, however, took place directly to the north of this house, where the excavation brought to light a small temenos,¹² 15 x 18 meters in size (pl. 85, fig. 2), consisting of an enclosing wall of three courses of squared limestone blocks, surmounted by a course of orthostates. Within this enclosure, perfectly preserved, is a small edifice, in the form of an *oikos*, with gable roof made of slabs of limestone set bracing, upon which rest large clay tiles (1.15 x 0.78 m.). The native rock in which this ensemble is inserted is broken away on one side, thus making it possible to see the wall in its full height of 2.25 m. The length of the edifice is 3.05 m.; the width 2.49 m. It has no opening, and on one side the intermediate courses show at the sides of the blocks the grooves for the crowbar which served for inserting them between the adjacent blocks. In order for the excavators to penetrate inside, it was necessary to remove a roof-tile and part of the (already broken) slab beneath it. The building was not only completely closed, but it had also been intentionally buried, and its roof lay somewhat lower than the ancient ground level. The interior was finished in fine white stucco, except for the blocks that were inserted last. The presence of grooves shows that the roof was supported by means of two horizontal wooden beams which themselves were held up by two vertical beams set into the pavement; this

latter consisted of four large slabs of limestone. In the center was a sort of bench, formed of two pairs of squared blocks; upon this were remains of an iron and wood couch, with fragments of a woolen cloth, now transmuted into metal. On the pavement, close to the long walls, stood eight bronze vases, two amphorae and six hydriae, all of them filled with honey, which is still plastic and soft, sticks to the hand and emits a characteristic waxy odor; one of the amphorae was still stopped by means of a cork disc. In one corner of the room there was a large, black-figured Attic amphora.

All the vases—whether of bronze or of clay—belong to a period between the years 540 and 530 B.C. The same holds true for numerous fragments of pottery that were found within the temenos. These latter evidently belonged to vases which were thrown, perhaps filled with liquid and other offerings, into the interior of the enclosure while it was being filled with earth with a view to sealing it and hiding the shrine from human gaze. The letters scratched on some of these fragments appear to Dr. Sestieri to confirm the attribution of the shrine to Hera as Divine Bride and Goddess of the Underworld: the couch at the center of the underground room may have been the symbol of the Sacred Marriage of Hera-Persephone and Zeus-Hades.¹³

Equal importance attaches to the discovery of the bronze vases. The two amphorae are rather plain and devoid of ornament; but the six hydriae are masterpieces of ancient bronze-working. One of them (pl. 85, fig. 3) has its vertical handle in the form of a superb figure of a lion, erect on its hindlegs which are set upon a palmette, while its forelegs and face rest on the rim of the vase, from which the creature appears to desire to slake his thirst; at his sides, at top and bottom, are serpents. The horizontal handles have attachments formed of a double horse's head and neck.

The second hydria—most exquisite in its accessory decoration as well—has its shoulder treated in a tongue-pattern (pl. 85, fig. 4). The vertical handle ends above in a lion's head with a rich mane; below, it consists of a palmette, flanked by two winged sphinxes; the horizontal handles are similar to those of the preceding vase, but end in

that the plural of the Greek noun is *temene*.

¹¹ *ibid.* 325, pl. 66, fig. 2. The effects of floods and landslides upon the ancient monuments of this coast have been treated by A. Maiuri, *RendNap* 29 (1954) 87-98.

¹² In view of what appears to have become the current usage in some quarters, it may not be considered otiose to observe

¹³ The cults of Poseidonia have been discussed by Dr. Paola Zancani Montuoro in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 23 (1954) 165-185. She is inclined to regard the monument here described as a cenotaph.

double protomai of a lion, with mouth open, of a distinctly oriental flavor.

A third hydria (pl. 86, fig. 5) is more restrained in decoration. Three other hydriae (two of them represented in pl. 85, figs. 6 and 7) are identical with one another in form and decoration. The upright handle, in ribbon shape, has an attachment below, consisting of a palmette, out of which emerges a small female bust, its face enframed between the locks of hair; at her sides are two very delicate figures of rams. At the top are two small lions, on which the chiselling for rendering the details of the mane is most precise. The horizontal handles have, near their attachments, heads of long-beaked birds, probably platypods. These three hydriae are absolutely identical with a fourth, now preserved in the Petit Palais in Paris but found at Sala Consilina in Lucania. Other representatives of the same general class of bronze vase, and a certain number of the cast handles (the bodies of these vases were of hammered sheet bronze and thus more subject to corrosion), have found their way to museums, sometimes with definite statements as to provenience in Southern Italy. Only one somewhat fragmentary specimen, in the Athens Museum, is clearly attested as having been found in Greece, at Eretria. While the origin of at least the type with the female protome is generally recognized as Laconian, it is possible that its development took place in Magna Graecia, even though one cannot for the present identify a particular center of production (Tarentum? Lokroi?).¹⁴

The above-mentioned Attic clay amphora reveals a decorator who was somewhat of a mannerist but had definite contacts with the Andokides Painter. Dr. Sestieri suggests that it was probably deposited in the sanctuary because the representations on its two sides lent themselves to the specifically religious character of the place: on one side is the apotheosis of Herakles, a symbol of resurrection, while on the other side—shown on our pl. 86, fig. 8—there is a dance of Satyrs and Maenads in the presence of Dionysus and Hermes: the latter divinity is on occasion *psychopompos*, while Dionysus sometimes assumes chthonic character, and hence the scene can be interpreted as a representation of the life of the blessed in the Elysian Fields.¹⁵

¹⁴ This general class of bronze vase was treated by K. A. Neugebauer in *AA* (1925) 177-203, Beilage 1, 2; and by L. Polites, *ArchEph* (1936) 147-174, pls. 1-4. The replica from Sala Consilina appears as Abb. 9 of the former article and pl. 3, left, of the latter. Other, mostly later, types appear in

In the contrada Andriuolo, directly to the north of the circuit walls of Paestum, and uphill from the National Highway, several tombs have come to light. They are for the most part of the type *a cassa*, or consist of a small room, constructed with limestone slabs like the tombs of the "Tempa del Prete,"¹⁶ these, too, having their roofs either flat or gabled. Some, on the other hand, are in the form of a pit dug in the stratum of limestone, but with the cover consisting of a great rectangular slab, or else of tiles set *a capuccina*. All these contained vases of the Lucanian period, but as in the other Paestan burial-grounds,¹⁷ in the surrounding soil, and sometimes within the tombs as well, fragments of archaic Greek vases were found, whether black-figured Attic or late Corinthian. Here too, it must be recognized that the tombs were constructed and used in the first instance by Greeks, and afterwards were despoiled and reused by the Lucanians, who scattered the original equipment. Some of the tombs had painted wall-surfaces: nine of these have been recovered, eight of which belong to two tombs. A complete series of four slabs had already been recovered in the same locality in 1937, and thus it is now possible to offer some generalizations as to these paintings.

Whereas the short sides bear representations referring to the past life of the deceased and to his death (return from the wars, matron spinning, scene of mourning), on the long sides are stock scenes, bearing no relation to the sex of the deceased, and reproducing funeral games (boxing, gladiatorial contests, chariot races).

The quality of the several paintings varies: while some of them, like those reproduced in our pl. 86, figs. 9, 10, 11, are clearly Lucanian, others are very fine and belong in the tradition which for us is represented by the cream-ground Attic lekythoi. It is almost certain that these latter are due to a Greek who worked at Paestum during the Lucanian period.

At the locality CAPODIFIUME, near the sources of the stream of the same name, which flows by the southern stretch of the walls of Paestum, and 6 km. in a straight line to the east of the city, six incineration burials have come to light, belonging to the Second Age of Iron. These have a mound of stones;

the article by D. von Bothmer in *BMMF* 13 (1954-5) 193-200.

¹⁵ Further fully illustrated reports from Paestum by Dr. Sestieri will be found in *ILN*, *Archaeology*, and *BdA* 40 (1955) 53-64.

¹⁶ *AJA* 58 (1954) 325-6.

¹⁷ *loc.cit.*

the ossuaries are large biconical vases of black impasto, having covers of a conical form with cylindrical finial, which recall the shape of the Italic hut. In addition to impasto vessels of various sorts—fruit dishes, amphorae, pitchers—there are also clay vases with traces of painted geometrical decoration. The graves may be assigned to the seventh century B.C., and these are the first incineration burials to have been found in this region.

At VELIA, the work has been continued in the low ground near the western extremity of the city, where a square tower had already been partially uncovered.¹⁸ This has now been completely excavated (pl. 87, figs. 12, 13) and proves to be a flanking tower of a city gate. It is a massive structure, of squared blocks of sandstone, marvellously preserved through the progressive silting of sand in this area. An adjacent stretch of the city wall has been cleared for a distance of some 30 meters; but it has not been possible to uncover it to a depth of more than four meters, because below this level the water filters in from the sea. In a sounding made with the aid of pumping, it was found that further down there are at least four more courses of blocks.

As at Gela,¹⁹ so here, the city walls were raised to a greater height at a later period: the original portions used only sandstone blocks, the added courses included also conglomerate. The inner surfaces of many blocks show letters, or ligatures of letters, including the combination of delta and epsilon, = DE (mosion), which recurs on the bricks of Velia and attests the state control of both stone-quarries and brickworks. The forms of these letters are characteristic of the close of the fifth century B.C.; hence their presence dates the first period of the wall including the tower; the upper part must be assigned to a Hellenistic date.

A stretch of the highway, which led towards the agora, has been followed; and just inside the wall, a corridor in *incertum* has been discovered, apparently belonging to a villa of the Roman period.²⁰ Near this a well-preserved female head of marble (pl. 87, fig. 14) was found, showing the high surface polish characteristic of the age of the Antonines, but reminiscent in style, and particularly in headdress, of earlier periods, and probably—Dr. Sestieri feels—reproducing an original of the sec-

ond century B.C., perhaps the product of a local school.

The undertakings in Southern Etruria on the part of two foreign institutions, already known from previous reports in these pages, have proceeded along the lines already determined. The French School's campaign of 1954 at Bolsena²¹ has carried further the exploration of the site at LA CIVITÀ, where M. Raymond Bloch had found traces of an Etruscan settlement of the close of the archaic period. About the temple, some houses, in tufa and dry stonework, without regular alternations, have been uncovered: they are arranged on successive terraces, are in general rectangular in plan, and contained a quantity of ceramic fragments (grey bucchero, impasto, painted vases), including a red-figured cup of Etruscan fabric. A large *dromos* (1.50 m. broad, 50 m. long), discovered immediately below the temple, appears highly promising; after reaching a depth of 16 m., the dig became highly dangerous and it was necessary to stop. In order to reach the chamber which is assumed to exist within, it would be necessary to run a tunnel from the side. The burial grounds in the vicinity have been identified, and have yielded a certain number of objects of various sorts, including a very large fibula *a navicella*.

At the same time, M. Bloch has been able to study the complete material from a chamber tomb which had been discovered by chance in the winter of 1953-1954 at a distance of one kilometer above Bolsena itself. Unfortunately, it had been already pillaged in antiquity; but it yielded some small Etruscan bronzes and fragments of Calene ware. It is clear that the more lonely and deserted site of La Cività is more promising of positive results.

The following information regarding the American undertaking at Cosa²² has been kindly communicated, under date of February 16, 1955, by the Field Director, Dr. Lawrence Richardson:

The seventh season of excavations at Cosa, in May and June 1954, was spent in completing the exploration of the northeast side of the forum by the clearing of the large building situated between the basilica excavated in 1951 and the temple (B) excavated in 1953 and of a series of small constructions at the east end of this side of the forum (pl. 87, fig. 15).

The large building had been explored a little in 1953, when we cleared a dump left in the southeast

School's activities at both Bolsena and Megara Hyblaea has been generously communicated by the Director, Professor Jean Bayet.

²² *ibid.* 328-9.

¹⁸ *ibid.* 326; pl. 71, fig. 11.

¹⁹ See below, p. 312.

²⁰ Visible near the left margin of pl. 87, fig. 12.

²¹ *AJA* 58 (1954) 327-8. Information as to the French

area by a clandestine excavation in Temple B. At that time the polygonal platform in the middle of the building and the large forecourt led us to think of this building as a second temple and to believe that we were dealing with a large sacred area on the forum. In excavation the "forecourt" turned out to be a late threshing floor, under which lay the comitium of the colony, and the "temple" emerged as the curia.

The comitium is a circular amphitheatre inscribed in an almost square precinct, 18.85 x 17.50 m., entered directly from the forum by a broad axial corridor. The circuit wall is of small sandstone slabs and mortar and is finished with fine hard plaster on both faces; it belongs to the original construction of the early years of the colony after its foundation in 273 B.C. The cavea consists of eight steps around a small circular arena (diameter 8.60 m.) in the center of which is a shallow setting, probably for a small altar. The existing steps are of *nenfro* and belong to a rebuilding of original wooden steps in the second half of the third century B.C. They are 0.33 m. high, 0.40 m. wide, so that the Cosani must have stood in their assemblies; the steps alone, without the space behind them in the corners, could accommodate about five hundred and fifty persons.

Behind the comitium, on the central axis of the building, rose the curia. The original construction was probably wooden and stood two storeys high, the upper storey, which opened to the comitium at the height of the top step, being the curia proper, the lower storey perhaps serving for archives. At the time the comitium was rebuilt in stone the curia was also rebuilt, but on the same lines as its predecessor, except that the lower storey was replaced by an earth-filled podium with walls of polygonal limestone masonry. Just southwest of the comitium and abutting on it was an independent podium which we suppose was for an altar; later this was replaced by Temple B.

After the arrival of the second draft of colonists in 197/196 B.C., the curia was again rebuilt and enlarged by the addition of rooms at either side, so that it now became a building of three parallel halls, the side rooms perhaps serving as secretarium and tabularium. At this time also a third storey was added, and it is not clear whether this was much more than an attic.

In this form the building continued throughout the life of the city. In the second century A.D. a mithraeum was installed in the lowest storey of the southeast room (pl. 87, fig. 16). As this was a windowless cellar and one of its walls was the polygonal wall of the curia podium, it made a satisfactory artificial grotto. Terraces of earth held back by field stone kerbs were built along the long walls for the couches. Near the middle of each is a statue base. A square masonry altar stands at the blind end, and scooped out under the front of this is the "ritual well," a little pocket lined with mortar.

The slope up from the open area of the forum at the east end of the northeast side has only scattered building. Our exploration began with the excavation

of a small building with very heavy walls, first thought to be the aerarium of the city. It is a late building for Cosa, not earlier than the third century A.D. It consists of two small rooms, one entered from the other, and a small vaulted cellar built in a natural fissure. The doorsill and manhole to the cellar have careful cuttings for bolts, but we found no evidence to decide whether this was the aerarium or the carcer.

The exploration of the large cistern in this area, begun in 1953, was continued. Originally it was a long narrow tank with a wooden roof; later it was given a field stone vault, which implies that though the arch was known and used in the city walls of Cosa, the vault was not in common use at the foundation of the colony.

The rest of the area proved to be bare rock without a trace of any ancient monument. Along the edge of the forum we found a continuation of the broad gutter which runs in front of the basilica and apparently continued the whole length of this side of the forum, some blocks of a rough *crepido* just behind it, and the footing for a small monument, probably a statue. Most interesting of all is a row of seven shallow wells, partly rock cut, partly of masonry, in front of the gutter. Three of these are rectangular, 1.80 x 0.90 m.; the series runs a b b a b b a. These are rather different from the other series of wells discovered recently at Alba Fucens (see *BullComm* 74 [1951-2] app. 3-13) and around the Temple of the Divine Julius in the Roman Forum, and we are still hunting a satisfactory explanation for them.

In 1955, the field-work at Cosa is suspended while the staff concentrates on the study and publication of the results already obtained.

After the comprehensive account of discoveries in the Soprintendenza for (Northern) Etruria which appeared a year ago,²³ the Soprintendente, Dr. Giacomo Caputo, feels that it is advisable to postpone a further report until a year from now, when various developments shall have reached a definite conclusion. Meanwhile, he has kindly communicated an informative statement regarding several important undertakings of restoration carried out in this district between 1951 and 1954, which we resume as follows:

The walls of SATURNIA adjacent to the mediaeval gate—which itself includes part of the ancient gate—had been seriously threatened by reason of the dislodging of a portion of the rock mass upon which they were set. This has now been hoisted back into its original position and united to the main mass, while the precarious equilibrium of the sagging wall has been rectified, and its stability assured by means of grouting and also the inser-

²³ *ibid.* 329.

tion of a stretch of reinforced concrete at a point where a large gap had developed in the surface of the wall; this stretch has been accorded a facing of stucco tinted in harmony with the rest of the wall.

At VETULONIA, it is hoped that the Tomba della Pietrera will eventually be acquired by the State; it will then be feasible to proceed with the thoroughgoing work of maintenance which is essential. For the present, however, various measures have been adopted: the brick cupola constructed several years ago has been remade and its stability assured. The modern iron bars which had been inserted in parts of the tumulus have been eliminated, the roofings of the lateral chambers reinforced, and the unobstructed axial line of vision restored.

At VOLTERRA, especial attention has been directed to the western portions of the city walls, which for some time had been threatened with collapse. Instead of introducing buttresses, the individual blocks have been dismounted and then replaced in their original vertical positions, while the thrust exerted from the higher ground within has been relieved by means of an inner retaining wall.

During the restoration of the theater at Volterra, its structure has been strengthened at numerous points, and two of the left-hand marble columns of the front of the stage podium have been reerected. Some fragmentary architectural details have been set in place in so far as this appeared justified. A marble half-column preserved to a certain height and pertaining to the left *parascena* has been set up to the right of the entrance to the stage, without guarantee as to its exact original position but in order to recover the optical effect of the façade in combination with the stage front. The present relation of capitals to columns likewise must be regarded as provisional.

At FIESOLE, with the assistance of Dr. G. Maetzsche, further progress has been made with the reconstruction of the monuments and also the scientific installation of the material that had been yielded by both the earlier and the recent excavations.

Professor Attilio Degraffi kindly communicates the text of an interesting inscription recently found

at VERONA and published in a local review which is hardly available to wider circles.²⁴ This document is to be treated, with adequate comment, by Professor F. Sartori of the University of Padova:—
| *C. Atisius C. f. | Pob(lilia tribu) Pollio, | prae-*
fectus Drusi Caesaris i(uri) d(icundo), | fratri.

From this it appears that the community of Verona had conferred an honorary magistracy upon the younger Drusus, who assigned the effective functions inherent in the office to the dedicant of this inscription.

At TRIESTE, in the zone of S. Dorligo della Valle, another stretch of the aqueduct of Bagnoli has come to light.²⁵

The news from Sicily maintains its traditional interest.²⁶ Information concerning the eastern part of the island has been kindly communicated by Dr. Gino Vinicio Gentili.

At ALAESA, Dr. Gianfilippo Carettoni has carried further his undertaking upon the walls, and has also investigated the southern part of the city itself, finding the remains of streets paved with blocks of stone, and also some late dwellings which had been damaged by a still later burying-ground.

At NAXOS, the investigation of the walls has made good progress and has benefited by finds of ceramics which yielded valuable data for the chronology.

AUGUSTA has yielded a hoard of 28 tetradrachms of various Greek mints of Sicily of the fifth century B.C., the quality of which appears in the six Syracusan specimens shown on our pl. 87, fig. 17.

At MEGARA HYBLAEA, the administration reports sporadic finds of burials, including two tombs of the first half of the sixth century B.C., with both local and imported pottery and also jewellery.

At the same site, the 1954 campaign of the French School of Rome²⁷ has been focussed upon the fortress, the clearing of which, starting at the northeast area of the structure, presented a number of problems. MM. Vallet and Villard have carried out a systematic investigation, which already makes it possible to state that this is the center of the ancient city; that the workmanship of the wall, while very precise in the stretch which crosses the northern plateau, is careless at the southeast, on the side facing the sea; that the construction of the

further detailed references are not required. In dealing with Sicily, even more than elsewhere, the necessity of drastic compression in transmitting the information so generously communicated by colleagues is a cause for sincere regret.

²⁷ The campaign of 1952 was reported in *MélRome* 66 (1954) 13-38.

²⁴ *Vita Veronese*.

²⁵ For Trieste, see V. Scrinari, *Tergeste*, published in 1951 by the Istituto di Studi Romani as Vol. X in Serie I of *Italia Romana: Municipi e Colonie*.

²⁶ *AJA* 58 (1954) 329-331. Most of the Sicilian sites here mentioned have already appeared in previous reports, hence

wall destroyed a house which is not earlier than the middle of the third century B.C., and the fortification in its turn was overlaid by Hellenistic-Roman dwellings of the first century before our era. Hence the hypothesis, still entirely provisional, as to the historical setting of this defence, inclines at present towards the Second Punic War and the campaign of Marcellus against Syracuse. At the southwest corner, a reentrant gate, flanked by two large square towers (one of them measuring 10.50 meters on each side), each divided into four rooms, has been cleared, together with its ancient approach.

The excavation of this fortress and also various soundings have added to one's knowledge of the city of the sixth century B.C. (numerous architectural fragments, of fine limestone and terracotta, belonging to a sanctuary, from which some votive remains may also have been derived: Ionic details in limestone and Parian marble; archaic vases in the southern necropolis; a naiskos at the foot of the town) and of the Hellenistic city (small necropolis of the second half of the fourth century; fragments of a Nike and an ithyphallic Hermes; at the edge of the plateau, rectangular foundation dated in the third century B.C. by means of a small votive deposit). In the foundation of a wall of the second or first century, a cavity contained three silver objects: two cups and a long-handled ladle ending in a swan's neck.

The excavations of May 1955, have yielded some capitals and triglyphs of a very archaic Doric temple, perhaps of the beginning of the sixth century B.C., also a relief of the sixth century representing horsemen. Meanwhile, our plate 88, figs. 18-20, shows some phases of the artistic heritage of Megara Hyblaea as represented by objects from earlier campaigns.

Various finds of burials in the northern outskirts of the present-day SYRACUSE possess topographical importance since they obviously lay outside the limits of the ancient city at the time that the depositions were made. A different interest attaches to the fragmentary marble head shown on pl. 88, fig.

21, a late and degenerate copy of the type of the Medici Aphrodite; note the "Antonine" treatment of the pupils of the eyes!

The systematization of the great villa at PIAZZA ARMERINA²⁸ has resulted in several additions to the knowledge of its history: there were some dependencies lying outside the limits of the official residence itself; and beneath the villa at various points the remains of a previously existing edifice have come to light. Especial care is being devoted to the reconditioning and preservation of the numerous mosaics for which this place is already famous: pl. 89, fig. 22 shows one of these, in the small *latrina*, as now restored.

Meanwhile, the "problem" of the villa formed the subject of a memorable lecture by Professor Hans Peter L'Orange of the University of Oslo, delivered on April 15 at the Swedish Institute in Rome—the climax of the Roman year of lectures and allied occasions. What a few years ago, when only a portion of the vast establishment had been uncovered, was hardly more than a well reasoned query, has now, with the completion of the excavation, developed into a demonstration based upon abundant material evidence: this magnificent villa was created to serve as the residence for Maximian upon his retirement from rulership, and provided the counterpart to Diocletian's palatial villa at Spalato.

The Soprintendenza for the Provinces of Agrigento and Caltanissetta, instituted in 1939, has the distinction of including in its territory the sites of two famous Greek cities, Gela and Akragas, together with the adjacent coastal areas and the back-country with its traditions of indigenous culture. The Soprintendente is Dr. Pietro Griffo; the details of the undertakings at GELA and in its back-country have lain largely in the hands of Drs. Dinu Adamesteanu and Piero Orlandini. To these gentlemen, special thanks are due for information as to the cumulative results achieved over a series of years, together with photographs and permission to publish, generously communicated for the purposes of this Journal.²⁹

²⁸ AJA 57 (1953) 217-218; 58 (1954) 331; H. P. L'Orange and E. Dyggve, *Symbolae Osloenses* 29 (1952) 114-128.

²⁹ The publication of various finds has been commendably prompt. The bibliography on this undertaking is already extensive and somewhat scattered: it should begin with Dr. Griffo's illustrated pamphlet (*Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Agrigento*) *Bilancio di cinque anni di scavi nelle Provincie di A. e C.*, an extract from *Atti dell' Accad. di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Agrigento* III (1953-4). The Soprintendenza had also published five pamphlets on Agr. and Gela between 1945 and

1953. For Gela and its back-country, the following references have been kindly supplied by Dr. Adamesteanu: D. Adamesteanu: "Vasi gelesi arcaici di produzione locale," *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 244-7, pls. 108-9; "Uno scarico di fornace ellenistica a Gela," *ArchCl* 6 (1954) 129-132, pls. 34-36; "La frangia pendula coi fiori di loto negli edifici sacri," *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 86-7, pl. 44; "Coppi con testate dipinte a Gela," *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 1-9, pls. 1-3; "ΠΟΛΥΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΘΕΑ," *RendLinc* 9 (1954) 467-9; "Grondaie a testa leonina nel territorio di Butera," *BdA* 39 (1954) 259-261; "Contributo dei Rodio-

Gela itself had been the scene of some of Paolo Orsi's most successful campaigns.³⁰ The resumption of work at this site entered into the general programme of the Soprintendenza but was facilitated by the present urban development with its incidental uncovering of ancient remains.

In the eastern area of the city, on the acropolis (Molino a Vento), the votive deposit of the archaic temple has been found—clay statuettes of Daedalic and Ionic types, architectural terracottas, and a rich assortment of ceramics, Protocorinthian, Corinthian, Ionic, Rhodian and local. The find of a clay head of an owl appears to confirm the identification as a temple of Athena. One Doric column of the opisthodomos of the second temple was re-erected in 1951, and the foundation-trench, cut in the sandstone, was cleared: the edifice measured 21.70 x 51.30 m., and probably had 6 x 14 columns on its exterior. In the foundations, the blocks were solidly joined by means of layers of an amalgam of clay and limestone chips. On the north side of the acropolis, the Antiquarium has been constructed which is to house the material from the recent excavations. Space fails for enumerating the abundant yield from various points on this hill, especially from two bell-shaped cisterns; but we must mention two Ionic capitals of sandstone (the first representatives of this order to be found in Sicily) belonging to "votive columns" (pl. 89, fig. 23), a horse's head of the fifth century B.C. vigorously modelled in clay, presumably from an akroterion (pl. 89, fig. 24), and the half of a Paestan krater showing an admirably rendered figure of a Silenus stalking a Maenad (pl. 90, fig. 25). The underly-

ing strata contained Siculan remains, including the remarkable bowl with representations (pl. 90, fig. 26).³¹ The central zone of the city was equally productive of discoveries, including the remains of thesauri with architectural terracottas, in particular a marvellous series of antefixes in the form of Silenus heads datable between 470 and 460 B.C. (pl. 90, fig. 27). On the northern slope was a suburban shrine, and among its numerous fictile statuettes was one of a goddess wearing a *polos*, of local workmanship (pl. 90, fig. 28).

Within the area of the mediaeval city, the numerous remains associated with sanctuaries included a clay model of a steep-roofed building (pl. 90, fig. 29) resembling the four examples attributed to Argive fabrication.³² Towards the coast, in the zone of the present Borgo, the discovery of an archaic Greek pottery has made it possible to determine positively the characteristics of the local painted ware (Rhodian and Cretan influence). Here many graves yielded a rich supply of ceramics, especially products of the Attic potteries (pl. 91, fig. 30).³³ Of the various finds from graves on the northern slope of the city, we can mention only the red-figured lekythos with two women in conversation, pl. 91, fig. 31.³⁴

In the extreme western sector of the ancient city, at Capo Soprano, a villa of the third century B.C. has been partially excavated. But the outstanding development here has been the discovery of a splendidly preserved stretch of the city wall; the account presented in this Journal several years ago,³⁵ when the exploration was still in an early phase, can now be brought up to date. The northern

Cretesi alla ellenizzazione della Sicilia," *Rassegna Mediterranea* VII, n. 1. Cf. *Fatti* 6 (1951) nos. 1872-3 (Gela), 2460-2 (Butera). P. Orlandini: "Vasi biacici trovati nel territorio di Gela," *BdA* 38 (1953) 155-8; "Due nuove lekythoi del Pittore di Bowdoin e una lekythos bianca di stile severo rinvenute a Gela," *BdA* 39 (1954) 76-9; "Scopo e significato dei c. d. pesi da telaio," *RendLinc* 8 (1953) 441-4; "Due graffiti vascolari relativi al culto di Hera a Gela," *RendLinc* 9 (1954) 454-7; "Kore fittile dall'acropoli di Gela," *ArchCl* 6 (1954) 1-8, pl. 1; "Nuovi vasi del Pittore di Pan a Gela," *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 34-8, pls. 11-13. The following are in the press: D. Adamesteanu, "Due problemi topografici del retroterra geleso: Calvisiana e Phalarion," *RendLinc*; P. Orlandini, "Le nuove antefisse sileniche di Gela nel quadro delle antefisse siciliane e il loro contributo alla conoscenza della coroplastica siceliota," *ArchCl* 6 (1954) 251-266. It is expected that comprehensive reports will soon appear in NS.

³⁰ P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 17 (1906) 1-758; 19 (1908) 89-140; E. Douglas Van Buren, *Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, 15-21.

³¹ Dr. Adamesteanu considers the partly-upright objects within the bowl to be "horns of consecration." They are however not

set in pairs but singly, and we should therefore prefer to interpret the group as the crudely rendered representation of a centripetal ceremony of adoration, and to recognize analogies or prototypes in the human figures of Cypriote red polished ware models and—for the schematic treatment—the figures of birds attached to vessels of the same general fabric: P. Dikaios, on discoveries at Vounous-Bellapais, in *Archaeologia* 88 (1940) 118-125, 173 with pls. VII, VIII (model of sacred enclosure: note the group about a central figure—here probably a ritual dance); pp. 125-127 with pls. XIV-XXI, XXXV (birds attached to vases); pp. 127-129, with pls. IX, X (model of a scene of ploughing). The central figure, only slightly less crudely rendered than those surrounding it, may have its analogue either in the birds, *ibid.*, pl. XIV, or in the human figures of the model of ploughing, *ibid.*, pl. IX. In this context, the latter appears more probable. The surrounding figures appear to be bowing in homage to the central one (cf. *Genesis* 37, 7-10, Joseph's dream).

³² H. Payne, *Perachora* 1, 34-51.

³³ The necklace which was to prove fatal to Amphiaraios.

³⁴ Dr. Gisela M. A. Richter attributes it to the Phiale Painter.

³⁵ *AJA* 53 (1949) 386-7, pl. 53, C-E.

stretch was less well preserved than the southern one, but both of them show the stairs which led up to the rampart-walk. The original construction is datable by means of tombs lying beneath it which belong to the decade between 440 and 430 B.C. After the Carthaginian siege and treaty of 405 B.C. these walls would have been dismantled; later, on three occasions down to 280 B.C., they were restored and raised to a greater height in sun-dried brick; the names of Timoleon and Agathokles are to be associated with some of these activities. Within the circuit, some buildings intended for housing the guard have begun to emerge.³⁶

To the north of the city, the hill now occupied by the church of the Madonna dell' Alemanna proves to have held a large archaic sanctuary, probably dedicated to Demeter; its dump of archaic pottery included fragments of Etruscan bucchero and some cups of the fabric of Vroulià (Rhodes). Across the river to the southeast, on the hill of Bitalemi, the discovery of a number of architectural terracottas has confirmed the conjecture of many years ago,³⁷ that this little rustic sanctuary, as well as its more pretentious neighbors, had its own cult edifice.

The sporadic finds from Gela included a perfectly preserved archaic alabastron with a woman's head (pl. 91, fig. 32).³⁸

The Soprintendenza has conducted a far-reaching series of reconnaissances and investigations in the country inland from Gela, as well as along the coast, with regard primarily to the indigenous culture and the infiltration of Greek influence. The results are of fundamental importance for the understanding of Sicilian history; and evidence for the Roman and later periods as well has not been lacking. Again, the available space allows mention of only a few outstanding items.

At MANFRIA there is a great altar, partly rock-cut, partly of stone construction, some 90 meters in length, of the fourth century B.C. Its votive dump has yielded enormous quantities of dedicated objects, including the statuette of a Phylax actor (pl. 91, fig. 33).

On MONTE DESUSINO, between Gela and Licata, a Greek fortified site has been investigated which is probably to be identified with Phalarion, Agath-

okles' stronghold in his resistance to the Carthaginians in 311 B.C.³⁹

Greek farms or trading stations have been identified at Milingiana and Priorato, in the territory of Butera, and some burial-grounds at other sites in this general area.

At BUTERA itself, some 20 km. northwest from Gela, there must have been situated one of the most powerful Siculan communities, perhaps Maktorion. The present-day city covers the site of the ancient one, but the surrounding sepulchral areas have yielded masses of material from the eighth century B.C. down. The earliest Siculan wares include a splendid bowl of brown impasto with incised designs (pl. 91, figs. 34, 35); at a later period some large *pithoi* with fan-shaped painted decoration (pl. 91, fig. 36) were brought from Gela, where they are now known to have been produced.⁴⁰ There was also a collective burial enclosure dominated by a dolmen which contained three burials with an equipment of 54 vases, datable at the middle of the seventh century B.C. Successive strata come down into Hellenistic times.

Near Mazzarino, preliminary excavations at SOFIANA have permitted the identification of that locality with the Roman center Philosophiana, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary as a *statio* on the two inland roads between Catana and Agrigentum: from here, a branch led to the imperial villa at Piazza Armerina. There are extensive remains of an establishment of the beginning of the fourth century of our era, and beneath them structures of the first and second centuries; also in the neighborhood, a Byzantine basilica, and a vast burial-ground of the fourth and later centuries.

The Soprintendenza for Western Sicily includes in its jurisdiction not only some of the most remarkable Doric temples—two series, and also, as is now known, at least two further ones, at SELINUNTE, and the lonely unfinished one at the Elymian SEGESTA—but the important Phoenician settlements mentioned in the authors: Pan(h)ormus (Palermo), Motya and its successor Lilybaeum (Marsala), and Solus or Soluntum (Solunto).⁴¹ Information as to current developments has been kindly supplied by the Soprintendente, Dottorressa Iole Bovio Marconi (Museo Nazionale, Palermo). The chief find at Selinunte is of outstanding interest: a sanctuary

³⁶ For the history, see *RE* vii, 950-952, s.v. Gela.

³⁷ E. Douglas Van Buren, *op.cit.* 20.

³⁸ Less well preserved example of this Rhodian type found at Gela, *MonAnt* 17 (1906) col. 265, fig. 201; on the type, see R. A. Higgins, *Cat. of the Terracottas—Brit. Mus.* 1, nos.

47, 48.

³⁹ Diodorus, 19.108.2.

⁴⁰ Cf. *MonAnt* 17 (1906) cols. 109-113, pl. 5, right.

⁴¹ All these places are covered by articles in fairly recent volumes of *RE*.

in the Gaggera region, some 300 meters distant from the shrine of the Malophoros. Here, a year ago, in the course of agricultural operations, a sculptured metope of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. had come to light, also some worked blocks of stone. This led the administration to undertake a systematic investigation which is still in progress: it has already revealed a small archaic temple, 10.85 x 26.80 m. (pl. 92, fig. 37); before it is an altar 22 m. in length, and below this—for the hill slopes down here as at the shrine of the Malophoros—a paved area. The temple consists of cella and pronaos; its walls—almost all of the back wall now lies prostrate spread out on the ground as it had fallen—were once surmounted by a triglyph frieze. The duration of life of the sanctuary, including the occupation of the site in Early Christian and Byzantine times, is documented by finds of Corinthian and Late Protocorinthian sherds on the one hand and of coarse, late products on the other.

On the city site itself, the northern stretch of the main north-south artery of the acropolis has been cleared. It has a good pavement of large irregular slabs of stone.

At MARSALA, interest has centered on the luxurious Roman residential suburb by the shore, with its abundance of mosaic pavements, one of the most admirable of which appears in pl. 92, fig. 38. An account of discoveries at Lilybaeum and Motya, by the Honorary Inspector at Marsala, Professor Aldo Ruggieri, is to appear in *Archaeology*.

At SEGESTA, the discovery of a long and stout retaining wall on the southern slope of Monte Barbaro, and of some architectural remains, encourages the hope that the resumption of the excavation may lead to the finding of some public edifices set upon an artificial terrace.

The already known vast Punic necropolis outside the Porta Nuova of PALERMO⁴² has now been systematically explored: 279 tombs have been cleared, and the presence of some small Corinthian and Late Protocorinthian vases has demonstrated that this burial area was already in use at the close of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. There is an abundance of coarse Punic wares, as well as black-figured Attic, some red-figured, and also black-glazed wares of the fourth century B.C.; in addition to these, there are ornaments in silver and ivory, and some imitation scarabs or scaraboids.

⁴² *AJA* 53 (1949) 385.

In the lowest stratum of the necropolis, at a depth of more than four meters, the tombs are of the type shown in pl. 92, fig. 39 with the approach in the form of either steps or an inclined plane. At a depth of two meters, there are only sarcophagi set into the rock. During the period represented by the highest level, incineration was practiced and the ashes were deposited in terracotta jars.

At SOLUNTO, attempts to identify remains of the Punic settlement have yielded scanty results, including, however, some burials on the extreme western edge of the cliff; perhaps the Phoenicians merely maintained a trading station on the low ground by the shore. Greater success, however, has attended the investigation of the Hellenistic-Roman city on the height: a badly devastated theater has been revealed; also a public edifice consisting of nine quadrangular recesses with seats and the bases for statues; and remains of Roman houses with mosaic pavements showing geometrical designs.

These pages must close with at least a brief reference to the sensational results achieved by Professor Antonio Radmilli of the Istituto di Paleontologia of the University of Rome, in three campaigns of excavation in the Grotta Polesini at PONTE LUCANO, on the banks of the river Aniene (anc. Anio), in the plain below Tivoli: they throw unexpected light upon the presence and the activities of man in Latium at a remote period. Professor Radmilli has most generously communicated his own statement of conclusions, together with the two important photographs here reproduced as pl. 92, figs. 40 and 41.

The formation of this cavern was due to the erosive action of the waters of the Aniene during the Riss glacial period and the Riss-Würm interglacial period. Later, in the Würm glacial period, the river shifted its bed to the present position, but at a level some 10-12 meters lower than the present one; thus the cave remained dry, and during Würm II and III was frequented by populations of hunters and food collectors of the Upper Paleolithic. In Neolithic times, the course of the river was shifted, a secondary channel was formed, and the bed and, with it, the waters rose, and the waters penetrated into the cave and rendered it inaccessible to the men of that age. It was, however, as is shown by ceramic remains, sporadically occupied or visited in later periods down to Roman times, after which the

waters entered it again, depositing clay and sand and thus establishing the present flood level (pl. 92, fig. 40).

The chief interest attaching to this cavern is due to the rich deposit, some three meters in depth, of the Upper Paleolithic Age, characterised by a stone industry of the type of the Grimaldi and Romanelli cultures, together with fauna associated with a glacial climate—chamois, wild goat, marmot, etc.

The enormous thickness of the deposit shows that the people of that age had a fixed abode in the cave during several millennia, and thus the presence in the *ager Romanus* of the populations of the Upper Paleolithic Age has at last received documentation.

Especially important attaches to the most recent discoveries of artistic engravings on pebbles. Up to now there have come to light such representations of two heads of *bovidae*, a back of a *cervida* and a head of another, a horse's head, a wolf (pl. 92, fig. 41), and two geometrical designs. These products, Professor Radmilli states, undoubtedly reveal the influence of the Franco-Cantabrian naturalistic style, but are due to more highly developed artists. Such drawings are rare in Italy, but they may be compared to the rock-cuttings found in the Grotta Romanelli (Terra d'Otranto), in the Grotta Adauri (Sicily), and elsewhere.⁴³

ROME

⁴³ Professor Radmilli's fuller account has now appeared, *BPI Nuova Serie* 9-Vol. 64 (1954-55) 47-56.

The Arts and King Nabonidus

BERTA SEGALL

PLATE 93

THE small bronze statuette (pl. 93, figs. 1 to 3) is not an unknown piece. In 1939 it was seen and photographed in South Arabia "at the mouth of the Wadi Jordan, in the Aden Protectorate" and the photograph was later published by Sir John Beazley.¹ However, the statuette deserves additional discussion. It is an excellent piece of its kind that should be better known; moreover, the circumstances that brought it to South Arabia merit some consideration. It is with these circumstances that the present note deals. Beazley recognized in the statuette "a good Greek work of the middle of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., Peloponnesian and very possibly Laconian" and gave a list of replicas. According to his list these statuettes of Spartan warriors were found in many parts of Greece as far north as Epirus and Thessaly and as far east as Samos. An appearance in South Arabia of another member of this group or, for that matter, of any other piece of archaic Greek sculpture or pottery, is so far not recorded.

The discovery in the Near East of a Greek and more specifically a Spartan work of art of the middle of the sixth century B.C. can be explained in many ways, but at that particular moment the political situation and the alignments resulting from it are of greater importance than the connections stemming from peaceful trade. In the first half of the sixth century, the ancient Near East had to a large extent been divided between two great powers, the Medes and the neo-Babylonians (see sketch map, text figure A). But around the middle of the century the situation changed: Persia under Cyrus II emerged as a major power threatening the remainder of the old Asiatic civilizations and even Greece. To meet the approaching danger several alliances were formed; they were short-lived because the Persian superiority in arms very soon became apparent. To the coalition there belonged, at one time or another, Amasis of Egypt,

Nabonidus, the last king of the neo-Babylonian Empire, Croesus of Lydia, Polycrates of Samos, and, since Sparta had become the leading military power of Greece, she was of necessity drawn into the camp. Her capacity for stemming the Persian tide, however, must have been more legendary than real. Herodotus says (1.69) that Croesus, impressed

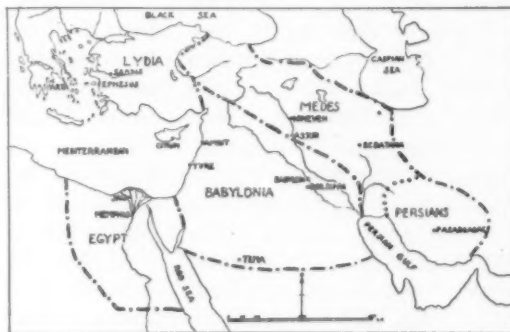


Fig. A: Sketch Map of the Near East in the middle of the Sixth Century B.C. (by John Young)

by Sparta's victories over Tegea, asked for an alliance, and the Spartans "swore to be his friends and allies." That a single Spartan soldier actually left the country is not recorded. Even the peaceful Spartan emissaries who were sent to Sardes with a present, a bronze bowl decorated with figures, apparently did not get farther than Samos, the ally nearest home (Herodotus 1.70). "The Samians say," Herodotus tells us, "that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl were too late and learned that Sardes and Croesus were taken."

But before the final Persian victories even the mere promise of Sparta's help must have had an effect. Because history deals mostly with the winning side, many details of the preceding years are lost for us and the investigations into the historical facts underlying Herodotus' account are only beginning.² Apparently Sparta did send out ambas-

¹ J. D. Beazley, *ABSA* 40 (1939-40) 83f. The statuette disappeared from sight, but was rediscovered by Dr. Henry Field in the collection of Major Altounian in London, to whose kindness I owe the new photographs, and to whom I want to express my gratitude.

² Herodotus' account has been accepted by most scholars in the past. Only Jacoby in his article on Herodotus, *RE* Supplement II, (1913) col. 383, declared it to be a poetical pattern. See H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III, 4 (Munich 1950) 118 and note 1. The

sadors with tokens of good will, and the very fact that one of the sixth-century Spartan bronze warriors, a companion piece to the one found in South Arabia, has actually turned up in Samos (in the southern part of the *temenos* of the Samian Heraeum),³ suggests that the statuettes were received abroad precisely as such tokens, as symbols of Sparta's military strength. It would be too much to assume that the bronze warrior excavated in Samos was part of the decoration of the bronze bowl sent from Sparta, originally destined for Sardes and left in Samos, but it is worth recalling that Neugebauer discovered independently that a slightly later bronze warrior in the Berlin Museum was part of the rim decoration of a large bronze vessel.⁴

But was Arabia not too far removed from the scenes of these events to have any part in them? Arabia, always a self-sufficient country, had indeed lived outside this struggle for power, her wealth and the vast backlog of her manpower being untapped for this reason. But Nabonidus⁵ saw the importance of the Arabian resources. When he ascended the throne in 556 B.C. he left the affairs of Babylonia in the hands of his son Belshazzar and turned his own energies toward the consolidation of his influence in his western dependencies, which included Palestine and Phoenicia. In 550 he turned towards Arabia. He conquered Tema, an important Arabian trading post north of the Biblical Dedan on the caravan road between Mecca and Damascus on the one hand and between Babylonia and Egypt on the other. Its importance as a commercial center and a strategic stronghold must have been considerable, enough for King Nabonidus at any rate to make it his residence for fully eight years, years in which the Persian advance went on unchecked in the north. Only then, in 542, did he return to Babylon.

Nabonidus' activities in the Arabian oasis of Tema will be increasingly illuminated through Arabian discoveries. The sources tell us that, once installed, he embarked there on cultural activities on a large scale. Not only did he build a palace "like the palace in Babylon,"⁶ which seems to have

impressed those Arabs who saw it, because neo-Babylonian influence is apparent in recently excavated architecture in South Arabia, but he also directed a program of religious propaganda aimed at drawing his western peoples and the Arabs into one cultural and religious orbit. He apparently evolved, or helped to revive, a theological system in which all these peoples could recognize features of their own religion.

His theological system and the arts which represented its gods are full of archaisms; the entire trend cannot be understood if one does not see it as part of an archaistic movement, widespread at the time, to which W. F. Albright has called attention.⁷ He says: "(From the seventh century onward) disproportionate attention was paid to antiquarian points (in biblical writings). It is important to note that this revival of interest in the past and this pronounced tendency to archaism, which are otherwise unknown in biblical literature have close parallels in contemporary Egypt and Western Asia. In Egypt a revival of the past was inaugurated by the princes of Sais, guided by priests and scribes whose antiquarian interests had begun in the eighth century. . . . In Assyria and Babylonia the same thing appears (since the end of the eighth century). . . . Nebuchadnezzar also harked back to the past. Nabonidus surpassed them all by his zeal for antiquity which led him to make excavations in many of the then known temple sites of Babylonia. . . . Moreover, he endeavored to revive the ancient cults and rituals. . . . It is highly probable that there was a similar revival of interest in the past in Phoenicia (a neo-Babylonian dependency at the time), which brought with it not only a renaissance of the early epic literature, but also an unexampled diffusion of Phoenician writings." This archaistic trend continued in Phoenicia into the Persian period.

The archaistic Egyptian art of the time, the neo-Memphite, has been thoroughly investigated, the corresponding neo-Babylonian and Phoenician arts are still very imperfectly understood, probably be-

account is accepted as historical, e.g., by A. Moortgaat in A. Scharff and A. Moortgaat, *Aegypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich 1950) 457. See also his excellent synthesis of the Nabonidus problem, *loc.cit.* 452ff., literature p. 488. See Herodotus 1.83 on the delay of the Spartan army.

³ JHS 53 (1955) 286 and fig. 15.

⁴ A. Neugebauer, *Die minoischen und archaisch-griechischen Bronzen* (Berlin 1931) 110f.

⁵ W. F. Albright, "The Conquests of Nabonidus in Arabia,"

JRAS (1925) 293ff. All documents known up to 1929 collected in R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, Yale Oriental Series, Researches XV (New Haven 1929): Arabia, pp. 138ff. and map pl. II; Interest in moon cult, pp. 154ff. and passim.; Possible contacts with Lydia in his youth, pp. 33ff.

⁶ B. Landsberger and Th. Bauer, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, N.F.* 3-4 (1926-29) 91.

⁷ W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore 1946) 241-244.

cause they did not work entirely with outright copies like the Egyptian, but with adaptations of older work and sometimes merely with revived iconographical details for entirely new creations. An important member of the pantheon propagated by Nabonidus was a Near Eastern deity whose iconography included, among other things, lunar attributes and aspects of a lion fighter. Two reliefs of the period depict this divine figure especially clearly: a relief found in Daphne in Egypt⁸ and another from Amrit⁹ in Phoenicia. On both reliefs the god is represented standing on a lion; on the Amrit relief he also holds a small lion, his victim, by its hindlegs. Above both gods is the symbol which connects the sun and the moon, the sun disc resting in a crescent. This symbol begins also to appear at about this time on South Arabian altars which often have dedicatory inscriptions to the Arabian moon god.¹⁰

In addition, the archaistic trend of the time introduced other innovations which were of even more universal importance. One that was to find its way into Greek art and to last there to the end of antiquity was another addition to the iconography of the lion-fighting divinity. This goes back to the remotest past, and in fact it appears on early Accadian seals¹¹ and seems then to have been forgotten till the "Chaldaean" theologians revived it; the god begins to wear the skin of his victim around his shoulders. Judging from the Near Eastern examples that were the only ones known a short time ago, this iconographical detail was used mainly in Phoenicia and its dependencies in Cyprus. The god so honored was Melcarth, lord of Tyre and Amrit in Phoenicia and of the Phoenician colony, Citium, in Cyprus; great quantities of offerings representing the god in this garb have been found in his sanctuaries in Cyprus and on the mainland.¹²

⁸ W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* (Washington, D.C. 1906) pl. 40. Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tuebingen 1951) no. 960, pl. 285.

⁹ Bossert, *op.cit.*, no. 498, pl. 152. M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 8 (1946-48) 94. If the relief must be dated in the Persian period, it is a clear survival in Phoenicia of pre-Persian syncretism, which is also recorded in other cases.

¹⁰ A. Grohmann, "Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf süd-arabischen Denkmälern," *Denkschriften Akademie Wien* 58 (1914) 37ff.

¹¹ JHS 54 (1934) pl. II, 2.

¹² M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7 (1944-45) 99ff.; 8 (1946-48) 81ff. A good Cypriote example is Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, No. 1092.

¹³ The expedition was led by Wendell Phillips. Chief archaeologist and discoverer of the statue was Frank P. Albright. He

Very recently, however, the figure wearing the lion skin has turned up also in South Arabia, in a very prominent place. A bronze of large size (pl. 93, fig. 4) was excavated by the Yemen expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man;¹³ its iconographical connection with representations of the Phoenician Melcarth was immediately recognized by W. F. Albright.¹⁴ The statue, discovered in the Sabaeen Temple of the Moon in Marib, represents, according to the inscription engraved on its front in archaic Sabaeen letters, a mortal, and is dedicated to the moon god. It shows a great mixture of styles which I hope to analyze in another paper; most of them are a revival of more ancient styles; none is Greek.

The statue is a great achievement even from the point of view of size. It is 93 cm. high, while Greece produced in archaic times bronze statuettes of only very small size. It is interesting to recall that about this period the mainland of Greece received for the first time the iconographical detail of the lion skin for its Heracles,¹⁵ and nothing is more instructive for the direction of influences in this case than the comparison of the youth with lion skin from Marib with a small Peloponnesian bronze (pl. 93, fig. 5) now in the Museum in Cassel¹⁶ which is one of the oldest Greek sculptural examples of Heracles with the lion skin. The skin is not yet drawn over the god's head and the claws rest on his thighs in a somewhat unconvincing manner that suggests adaptation from a foreign prototype like the Marib statue.

The pre-Persian syncretism reaching from Tyre to Saba and from Saba to Greece and emanating possibly from a center in Arabia could not be better illustrated. In this case the productive center was decidedly not Greece.¹⁷ On the contrary, Sparta received at this time influences from abroad which

has briefly discussed the statue twice: in *BASOR* 128 (1952) with fig. 7 (the height indicated on the caption is incorrect, it is 93 cm.) and with Dr. Albert Jamme in *The Scientific Monthly* 76 (1953) 33ff. with illustration. The discussion of the inscription is by Dr. Jamme.

¹⁴ *BASOR* 128 (1952) pp. 38f.

¹⁵ Furtwängler in Roscher *ML* s.v. Herakles, col. 2145. Daremberg-Saglio s.v. Hercules, p. 118. *RE* Supplement III, col. 1110f. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 24 (1944-45) 69: "C'est au sixième siècle que s'est produite la confusion entre le type plastique d'Héraclès et celui d'un dieu au lion, dont le type s'était élaboré en Phénicie."

¹⁶ Margarete Bieber, *Antike Skulpturen und Bronzen in Cassel* (Marburg 1915) no. 114, pl. 38.

¹⁷ For a different interpretation see Jacqueline Pirenne, *C.R. Acad.* (Paris 1954) 121f. She quotes Diod. 3.45, an excellent late survival of Nabonidus' religious propaganda.

she could adapt to her own needs, and during the short time that she was drawn into the anti-Persian alliance, these influences may very well have come, through her political emissaries, from a place as far away as the Arabian court of Nabonidus.

Tema has never been excavated, though many missing links of history and archaeology may turn up in its ruins.¹⁸ Situated at one of the main northern outlets of the Arabian caravan roads it was certainly a most important link between South Arabia and the rest of the world, especially the anti-Persian allies, and it is wholly natural that an ob-

ject like the Spartan warrior may have arrived in South Arabia via Tema. The South Arabian youth with lion skin is a very likely object to illustrate the influence of its art, the more so since we know that this style survived as late as the fourth century B.C. in the not too distant North Arabian oasis of Dedan.¹⁹ Only further excavations, and especially excavations in Tema, can fully confirm or disprove this thesis. But until that time it has at least the merit of introducing into the picture a historical situation of immense importance which the victory of the Persians had almost erased from the records.

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¹⁸ Dougherty in *AJA* 34 (1930) 296ff. with literature.

¹⁹ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*

(Paris 1914) plates 29ff. I owe the date to W. F. Albright. A slightly later date is given by W. W. Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 19f.

A Portrait of Claudius

ELMER G. SUHR

PLATE 94

A FEW years ago the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester came into possession of a marble Roman portrait, purchased from the Brummer collection (pl. 94, figs. 1, 2). Nothing is known about the history of this head which is life-size and probably of Parian marble. Much of the nose as well as a portion of the chin has been broken off, and minor damage has been suffered by the brows, the lips, the right ear and eye. Judging from the base of the neck the portrait was originally set into a full-sized statue.

The wavy hair is laid rather close to the skull, the slight undulations marked by five concentric rings emanating from the crown of the head and eventually ending in strands pointing to the left as they fall over the edge of the forehead; two strands rest on the temple before the ear, forming a half moon whose lower horn is directed to the nose. Similar undulations, though not in the same regular, geometric sequence can be seen on the so-called Caligula in the Louvre¹ and on the Nero in Rome.² On the back of the head the concentric rings are as prominent as on the crown and continue to keep the hair tight to the skin. The forehead is indented by two horizontal lines much more emphatic and extended on the right than on the left side, in fact the whole forehead shows a fuller development on the right side and thus brings the temple to a clearer view, as the photograph clearly reveals. If a straight line is drawn from the top of the skull through the septum of the nose to the end of the chin, the disparity between the two sides of the face can readily be observed. The eyes betray the asymmetry of the upper portion of the head better than any other feature, especially because the bridge of the nose, as it separates the two eyes, forms a broad, vertical furrow whose diminishing width culminates at the apex of a triangle where it meets the first horizontal indentation of the forehead and thereby calls forceful attention to the lack of correspondence of the eye sockets. The lower part of

the nose is so badly battered that the original shape can hardly be reconstructed by the imagination. The right cheek-bone is likewise on a higher level than the left one (this is certainly not to be construed as an illusion), making the cavity between this bone and the right jaw slightly longer than on the other side. The mouth is well formed, the damaged lip apparently held in to coincide with a firmly set, determined jaw and extended across the lower face in a straight, horizontal line, again calling attention to the asymmetry of the upper features. After leaving the lower lip the profile line describes a sharp indentation before rounding the chin to the neck. Another remarkable feature is the prominence of the sterno-cleido mastoid muscle on the right side, which adds to the general determination of the lower features. The ears are moderate in size and not too obvious from the front view.

The distortions brought about by the asymmetry in the upper part of the face and the evident determination in the lips and jaw to offset this irregularity present a decidedly ludicrous contrast producing an expression bordering on stupidity. On the other hand, the lines of the forehead, the listless drooping of the eyelids, the cavities of the cheeks, and the mock-seriousness of the chin suggest a sad, if not harried personality. I think we may safely call this head a portrait of a middle aged man between forty-five and fifty years of age; that he is suffering from some manner of physical strain is also evident from the tautness of the neck muscle and chin to compensate for a weakness elsewhere. The artist has neither slurred over any of his awkward features nor favored his subject with any form of idealization; it is a simple, straightforward presentation of a character whose physical problem appears plainly on the surface. It is also an example of what Wace³ would call "naturalism" in Roman portraiture and may be dated about A.D. 35-40.

By measuring each side of the head from the

of Rome III (1905-06) 470. "Portraits of this period are remarkable for the uncompromising faithfulness with which the artist reproduces all, even unpleasant features."

¹ J. J. Bernoulli, *Roemische Ikonographie II*¹, pl. xvi.

² A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Roemer*, pl. 183.

³ *Journal of the British and American Archaeological Society*

center of the forehead around to the point above the normal position of the external occipital protuberance one can see that the right side of the head is somewhat larger than the left side. Likewise, the distance from the right brow to the jaw bone is somewhat longer than the same expanse on the left. The strained neck muscle which must have been taut a good share of the time is responsible for a slight tilting of the head to the left and is no doubt the reason for an overdevelopment on the right side of the face; hence the raised eye, ear, cheekbone, the prolonged lines of the forehead on the same side, and the firmly set jaw and lips. It must be assumed that the physical affliction was already present in early life to account for such a distortion at the age of forty-five. The subject was evidently a victim of torticollis carrying with it an abnormal development of the neck muscle on the right side.⁴

The only prominent Roman living in the second quarter of the first century A.D. whose features and physical weakness, as described by Suetonius and others, answer to the description of our portrait is the Emperor Claudius who was born in 10 B.C. at Lyons and occupied the throne from A.D. 40-54. He was fifty-one years of age when he became emperor. There are a number of difficulties in the way of such an identification which appear serious only because we have, for purposes of comparison, no dependable portrait of Claudius before he succeeded Caligula; first, Claudius was not a popular man either with the common people or his own family and it is unlikely, though not impossible, that many portraits were made of him as a younger man.⁵ In the second place, the majority of his extant portraits date from his days as emperor when a certain degree of idealization concealed many of his physical shortcomings; this fact alone renders a comparison somewhat difficult. Furthermore, Suetonius⁶ describes him as "tall but not slender," but

this statement, we must remember, applies more to the emperor than to the younger man. It is interesting to note here that a portrait from an earlier Greek period has been brought to light, one whose asymmetrical eyes are especially prominent,⁷ but no biographical information can be found to throw light on it. In this case the lack of balance carries over to other features but has no effect on the general expression of the face.⁸

The ancient writers inform us of physical defects and weaknesses which are rarely in evidence in extant portraits of the emperor; we can be sure they were ignored by the sculptor bent on idealizing his features. I quote from Suetonius (Claudius 30):⁹ "He possessed majesty and dignity of appearance, but only when he was standing still or sitting, and especially when he was lying down—But when he walked, his weak knees gave way under him—he would foam at the mouth and trickle at the nose; he stammered besides and his head was very shaky at all times, but especially when he made the least exertion." He was brought up in illness from childhood,¹⁰ at a gladiatorial contest he presided in a cloak,¹¹ he was unable to walk to the camp when the praetorians made him emperor,¹² he remained seated when he read to the senate;¹³ already as a young man assuming the toga virilis he was taken in a litter to the Capitol.¹⁴ Despised by his mother and grandmother in his early years, intimidated and withheld from the public eye, he became a lonesome recluse and developed an unusual sensitiveness as a young man; raised to the throne by a capricious stroke of fortune, the extremes of his behavior as well as his awkward physical features must have created the impression of stupidity, if not a mild form of insanity, although we have ample evidence pointing to a well-balanced mind. T. Ruth,¹⁵ after sifting all the available information, put his malady down as paraplegic rigidity or

of Naples (Hekler, *op.cit.*, p. xxiii, fig. 13) has the same peculiarity.

⁸ Another portrait of Zeno, also in the same museum (Hekler, pl. 104) shows no signs of asymmetry. Several good examples have been found in Egypt which have not yet been published but reveal symptoms of the same disease.

⁹ Trans. by J. C. Rolfe.

¹⁰ Dio, 60.2.4: Τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσῶδες.

¹¹ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIX, 222.

¹³ Dio, 60.2.2.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2. For a discussion of Claudius' personality see V. M. Scramuzzo, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge 1940) 35ff.

¹⁵ *The Problem of Claudius* (Baltimore 1916) 133.

⁴ The medical commentary for this article was kindly furnished by Dr. Wilbur Smith of the University of Rochester School of Medicine. From the appearance of our head and what we know about Claudius from ancient writers Dr. Smith has concluded that Claudius probably suffered from Spastic Diplegia or what is commonly known as Little's disease.

⁵ M. Stuart (*The Portraiture of Claudius—Preliminary Studies* XII [New York 1938]) considers the possibility of the survival of a youthful portrait very slight. Prof. Stuart has assembled a useful and exhaustive catalogue of references for all portraits of Claudius. For references additional to those cited in this article his work should be consulted.

⁶ *Claudius*, 20.

⁷ Homer Thompson (*Hesperia* 22 [1953] pl. 20d) calls it a portrait of Zeno the Stoic. A bronze bust in the National Museum

Little's disease, most likely deriving from premature birth.

If what we have said above is true, it follows that the physical weakness of Claudius and the distorted features developed from it belonged to him alone and cannot be confused with the features of another member of the family. It is interesting, too, that John Malalas¹⁶ writes of his face as pale and pinched and thin. This is confirmed by Dio Cassius¹⁷ who adds that he was "sickly in body." The latter writers are evidently describing his appearance at the age of fifty when he became emperor, whereas Suetonius, as we remarked, was probably referring to his later years when he was "not slender." We can easily conclude that the emperor was corpulent after ascending the throne, when he had fewer scruples about indulging his fondness for eating than in his younger days of seclusion. Moreover, some of the imperial portraits, in spite of obvious idealization, reveal decided resemblances to our head. The engraved gem in Vienna¹⁸ preserves something of the same harried expression in the vertical furrow above the nose and the drawn lines on each side of the mouth. The same tautness of lines in the profile are indicated in another cameo, also in the same place.¹⁹ The overdevelopment of the neck muscle, the neatly arranged waves of the hair, and sharp indentation below the lower lip are evident in the coin portraits.²⁰ The most convincing resemblance, however, is found in the head in the Braunschweig Museum.²¹ Here we find the asymmetry of the eyes exaggerating, in the profile, the usual strained expression, even though the lack of balance is not extended into the face below the eyes. The hair falls down to the same level on the forehead, whose horizontal lines and vertical furrow are similar, if not so sharply delineated; the profile line of the forehead, almost vertical, is likewise convincing. The mouth of our head is too badly damaged to stand the test of comparison, but in both heads we note the same indentation above the chin, the same profile of the back of the head. The Braunschweig example also has the same neat-

ly arranged waves in the hair, radiating from the crown. The over-all picture in each case is one of strained sadness or *Weltschmerz*, which adequately sums up the impression Claudius must have made on those who best knew him.

There are other imperial portraits, some less certain in their identity, which reveal similarities to our head in certain features: one such is in the Museum of the Agora in Athens.²² Here the rather horizontal line of the mouth and the firmly set jaw are especially striking. The velate head, now in the Parma Museum,²³ is more certain in its identity. Here the right eye, which is lower than the left, the wide eyeslit on the right side, and the more vertical line running from the right side of the nose to the corner of the mouth provide interesting details for comparison. The head in the National Museum of Athens,²⁴ which I regard as a fairly certain Claudius, has the very sharp indentation just below the lower lip. Another pleasing and well-modelled head in Terragone²⁵ has the usual features that create the expression of anxiety in the face of the emperor, along with a treatment of the hair reminiscent of the Braunschweig example. The only sign of physical weakness is the firmly set jaw which impressed Poulsen (p. 63) as "extraordinairement énergique." So far as I know, there is no certainly identified portrait of the youthful Claudius worthy of comparison; surely the so-called Claudius in the National Museum of Rome²⁶ has virtually nothing of his features. The huge portrait from Smyrna, published by Poulsen²⁷ and called a youthful Claudius by Curtius,²⁸ has, at least, a general resemblance to accepted portraits in its favor and shows a sharp indentation above the chin as well as heavy lines above the corners of the mouth, but reveals no sign of physical weakness.

In view of the similarity of features in the Rochester head to those in portraits long accepted by a number of authorities, and in the light of the manifestations of Claudius' physical weakness, more obvious in our head than in any other example, I believe we have here a likeness of the emperor in

¹⁶ *Chron.* 246, ed. Dindorf, Corp. Scrip. Hist. Byz. He describes Claudius as κορδοειδής, εὐογκος, γλαυκόφθαλμος, μίξοπόλιος, λευκός, μάκροψις, γαλήντοτατος. Cf. J. D. Ruth, *op.cit.* 23.

¹⁷ 60.2. Trans. E. Cary.

¹⁸ Bernoulli, *op.cit.* II¹, pl. xviii, 2.

¹⁹ Bernoulli, *ibid.* pl. xxxi. Cf. also the cameo in Windsor Castle (E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome* [New York 1928] fig. 234).

²⁰ Bernoulli, *ibid.* pl. xxxiv, 9-12.

²¹ Bernoulli, *ibid.* pl. xviii.

²² T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 411-13, figs. 35-36.

²³ L. Curtius, *RM* 47 (1932) 242-268, pls. 62-64.

²⁴ L. Curtius, *RM* 49 (1934) 135, fig. 13.

²⁵ F. Poulsen, *Sculptures antiques de musées de province espagnols* (Copenhagen 1933) pl. LXVII, fig. 106.

²⁶ Hekler, pl. 181.

²⁷ *op.cit.* 47, pls. XLV-XLVI, figs. 70-72.

²⁸ *RM* 49 (1934) 132, note 1.

middle age. Granted that all the accepted portraits portray him as emperor and that he was unpopular prior to his accession to the throne, can such a portrait, which accords so well with symptoms of his malady as described by ancient writers and which therefore cannot be identified with another prominent Roman of that day, not even with a member of his immediate family—can such a portrait represent anyone other than Claudius? I agree with Prof. Stuart²⁹ that we are not likely to find a dependable youthful portrait; nor do I regard such identifications in the past as very trustworthy. The Rochester head is not a youthful portrait, nor is it a caricature, for while its expression may border on the stupid side, it has too much of the pathetic and tragic, too much of what we know as the natural Claudius to be put down as a willful distortion. It is a frank reproduction of the emperor's features between forty-five and fifty years of age, not long before he stepped into the shoes of Caligula.

A suggestion is also in order for another head in the Rochester gallery, published in this journal (53 [1949] 258-60, pls. 37-38) (here pl. 94, fig. 3). The possibility of identifying the head as Galen had already occurred to me at the time, but I knew of no other likeness of the physician from ancient times. Recently I discovered a drawing of Galen's³⁰ head (pl. 94, fig. 4) taken from the Juliana Anicia (more commonly known as Dioscurides) manuscript in the Royal Library of Vienna, written ca. A.D. 500 and presented to Juliana Anicia, the emperor's daughter, as a wedding gift. Bernoulli³¹ suggested that the face may have portrait features,

although the figures cannot be traced to statues. G. W. Elderkin³² traces the grouping of the figures, who are all authorities on ancient medicine, through Christian and late Greek art. H. Swarzenski³³ dates it at A.D. 510 and points out its relationship to monuments of pre-Christian date (p. 20); he also suggests it may be a copy of a frontispiece of ca. A.D. 200 (p. 14, note 30). P. Buberl³⁴ gives the end of the second century as the earliest possible date and believes, like Bernoulli, that the face of Galen was taken from a portrait. It must be noted that the figure of Galen, the most prominent in the group, has deteriorated in some details which have been restored in the drawing; the latter has, however, falsely covered up the broad part in the hair above the center of the forehead, which is an indication of incipient baldness.

Can such a drawing be used for a comparison with the marble head in question? Much depends, of course, on the authenticity of the portrait in the manuscript miniature. In any case, I should like to call attention to resemblances in the general shape of the head, the full beard, the heavy lid hanging far over the eyes, the space intervening between lid and brow, and a general expression of reflection. The marble head with its baldness and furrowed forehead obviously represents an older man. Galen lived from A.D. 129-199 or 200 and was active at the court of Marcus Aurelius.³⁵ The marble head, as I have already observed, is a portrait of a Greek (Galen was a Pergamene), although the style is that of the Roman school of the late second century A.D. I present this comparison as a suggestive possibility which may bear more fruit in the future.

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²⁹ *op.cit.* 42.

³⁰ Charles Singer, *The Evolution of Anatomy* (London 1925) 48, fig. 24. A better reproduction may be found in Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions II* (New York 1941) 978. The drawing was prepared by T. L. Poulton, artist to the Anatomical Department of University College.

³¹ *Gr. Ikon.* II, 221, pl. XXXIII.

³² *AJA* 39 (1935) 103-4, fig. 7B.

³³ *ArtB* 22 (1940) 13ff., fig. 11.

³⁴ *Die byzantinischen Handschriften* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften Oesterreichs, N. F. IV) (Leipzig 1937) 17-21, pl. II.

³⁵ J. Ilberg, *RhM* 44 (1889) 210-11.

Necrology

THOMAS JAMES DUNBABIN died on March 31st, 1955, at the age of 43. He was born in Australia in 1911 and educated at Sydney Church of England Grammar School and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was Derby Scholar in 1933, and during the next two years travelled in South Italy and Sicily as a student of the British School at Rome. In 1935 he went to the British School at Athens, of which he was Assistant Director from 1936-1945. He was elected Fellow of All Souls in 1937. Early in the war he was commissioned in the Intelligence Service, and after a period in the War Office volunteered for service in occupied Crete. He went in early in 1942, and in the same year was awarded the D.S.O. He remained there, with brief intervals, throughout the occupation; and in 1945, as Lt. Colonel, became Monuments, Fine Arts and Antiquities Officer in Greece. In the same year he returned to Oxford as Reader in Classical Archaeology, in succession to Stanley Casson. In 1947 he was awarded the Order of the Phoenix (with swords). In 1948 he published *The Western Greeks*. In 1950 he became Domestic Bursar of All Souls, and in 1952 travelled in the Near East on a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. He leaves a wife, son and daughter.

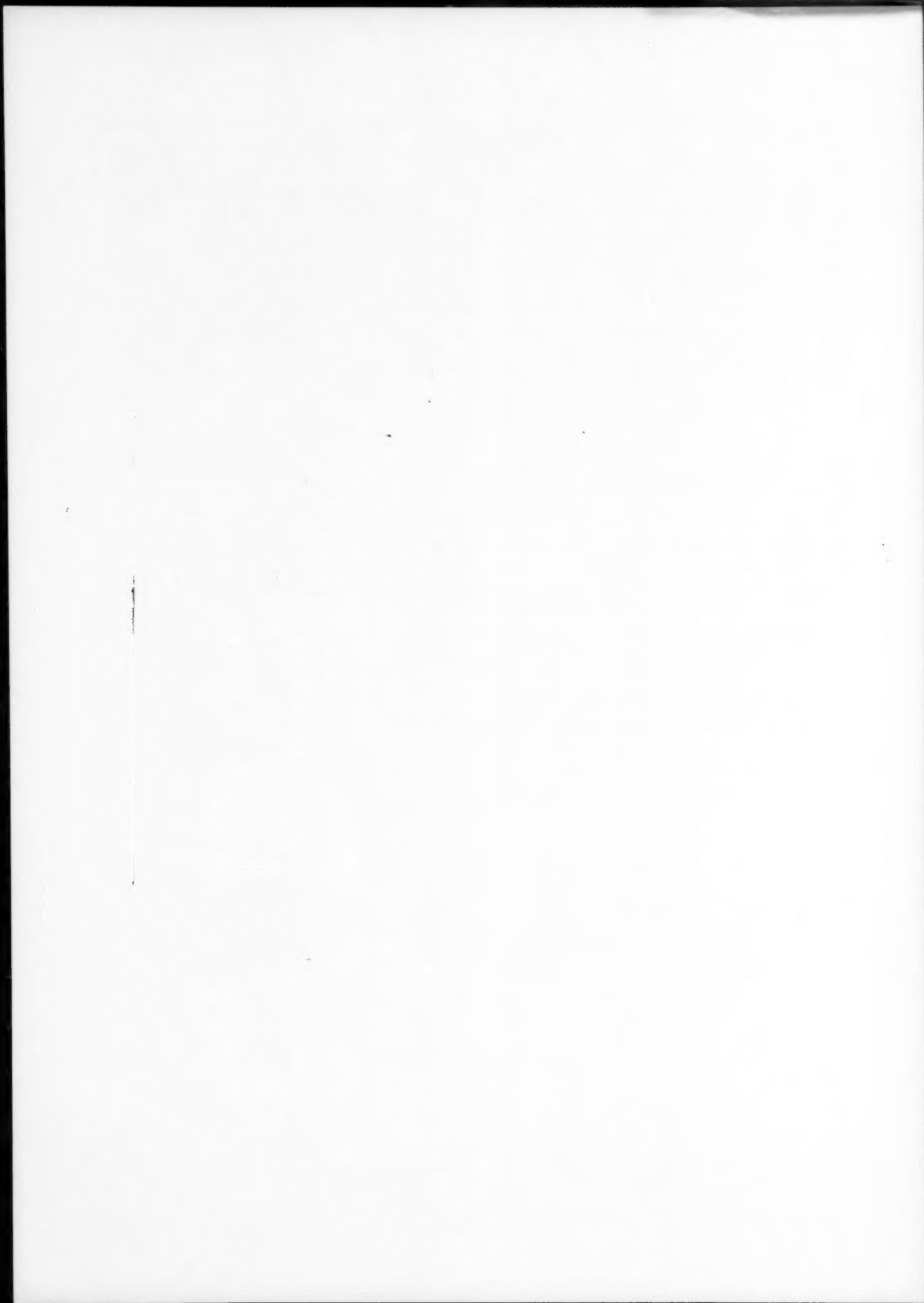
At Corpus Dunbabin was a pupil of Alan Blake-way, and learned from him that ideal of the synthesis of historical and archaeological method which he was to achieve so remarkably in his own work. He was not primarily an excavator, but he carried out with Blake-way a dig at Monasteri near Perachora in 1936, and some small work on the Perachora site in subsequent years. His principal work of a purely archaeological character was the preparation for publication of the

material from Perachora excavated and partly worked on by Payne. The first volume contains a great deal of Payne's work, but it was through Dunbabin's unselfish and untiring industry that it became published in 1940. A second volume, consisting in great part of his own work, was largely prepared at the time of his death. His travels and studies in Magna Graecia in the thirties helped him to set the Perachora material against a wider background, while the strictly archaeological work involved in that publication gave an exceptionally solid grounding to his use of archaeological data in his work on the early history of Greece, in a number of articles and especially of course in his book, *The Western Greeks*. His Levantine travels as Leverhulme Research Fellow should have led to most interesting work on the oriental background of early Greece, where his historical/archaeological approach would have been of peculiar value.

With the loss to scholarship goes the personal loss. Of exceptional kindness, always ready to help, Dunbabin was also extremely practical in finding ways of helping effectively. One could always count on him for the deed as well as the will. It was this combination, no doubt, that made his war-work in Crete so valuable, both in the immediate object of resistance and, on a longer term, of helping to save Crete from the post-war troubles that racked the rest of Greece. His part in all that is part of the history, and legend, of the war; his utter reliability, with his humour and charm, will be remembered by all who knew him in war or peace.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ARREST AND MOVEMENT, AN ESSAY ON SPACE AND TIME IN THE REPRESENTATIONAL ART OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, by *H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort*. Pp. xxiv + 222, figs. 47, pls. 94. Faber and Faber, London, 1951. £2.10.0.

In *Arrest and Movement* Mrs. Frankfort has set herself the unenviable task of discovering the implications of ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Cretan art in their respective idiosyncrasies of spatial rendering. It is a closely reasoned and compact argument, well documented, and demonstrates her familiarity with and understanding of the problems of a type of rendering which is unlike our own. Her knowledge of the subject makes it possible for her to avoid many of the pitfalls of the art historians who have used ancient pre-Greek art as a springboard for their theories. It must be stressed at the outset that her argument is on a logical, as opposed to aesthetic or strictly art historical basis, although her viewpoint is that of the art historian. Her indebtedness to the late Ernst Cassirer, though nowhere stated, is also apparent.

The argument is based on the traditional premise that these ancient arts differ from our own in kind: they share with most primitive art and children's art a way of rendering which is fundamentally different from either in that it involves another concept of the surrounding space. The author defines this way as non-functional rendering. Her study has led her to believe, furthermore, that the varieties of non-functional rendering which we find in these arts are strictly correlated to their content. In other words, the types of rendering used to represent space and time relations in the periods of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Cretan art are respectively appropriate to their contents. The argument is persuasive, if not conclusive. The reviewer will confine his account and remarks to the section on Egyptian art for two reasons. It is his own field of interest, and it forms the principal part of the volume.

After an introductory exposition of the problems involved and a penetrating discussion of predynastic and early dynastic art, the author turns to the Old Kingdom private tomb scenes of daily life. These have been variously considered as representing the summing up of a man's achievement in his life, posthumous visits to the land of the living, and a symbolical domain to compensate him for his loss, this last view advanced by Hermann Kees. Mrs. Frankfort considers these scenes, however, as representing the image of man in death watching the manifestations of life, an interpretation for which she has considerable support in the scenes and the accompanying text (Egyptian *m³³*: watching). She believes that the spatial rendering reinforces the non-actuality of the scenes: the figures are represented in such a way that their dynamic relation is minimized by the avoidance of illusionistic

space. In the individual human figure the parts are composed conceptually in the canon of profile head and legs and front-view torso, again an "anti-perspective" rendering. Since the scenes into which the figures fit were probably to be read rather than visually conceived, a large part of their meaning would have been destroyed by the introduction of illusionistic space and perspective. Tendencies toward perspective were therefore avoided, inasmuch as illusion and perspective rendering would have altered the significance of the scenes.

After reviewing the subject of the non-actuality of the private tomb scenes, the author turns to those in the royal pyramid temples. Here there is a great difference, for the king, unlike the passively watching tomb owner, is active and participates. It is a divine king in a static situation, however, and this leaves no scope for dramatic tension: "where kingship transcends the human situation as completely as it does in Egypt, protective acts on the part of the gods are purely symbolical, obeisance on the part of the king purely ritual. . . . The beneficial proximity of king and gods . . . must lack spatial as well as temporal definition." (p. 52) Although both content and implicit meaning of the scenes in the private tombs and the funerary temples originally differed, both could be adequately expressed by the same type of spatial rendering, one which shuns illusionistic and dramatic space. In the later Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period confusion of meaning and disintegration of form result from the plagiarism of royal themes in private tombs, for the most part in the participation of the tomb owner in fishing and fowling scenes. In this way Mrs. Frankfort explains the change of the tomb owner's status from passive watcher to participant. Non-actuality and non-functional rendering still are dominant, however, and it is only in a few rare cases that dramatic and emotional qualities are achieved within the framework of this rendering.

The art of the Middle Kingdom does not receive so detailed an analysis, since it continues the traditional way of rendering. Tendencies toward the use of dramatic space and a trend toward monumentality, a concept to which we shall return, are noted. But the tendencies toward the use of dramatic space are half-hearted, and on the same wall it is frequently achieved and ignored. The famous scene of the transport of a colossus at el Bersheh is basically unsuccessful: "Even the manner in which the transport has been pictured is static—none of the figures holding the ropes is actually pulling—and shows no attempt to grapple with the spatial relation between the different groups that do the hauling. Therefore, however ambitious the conception of this monumental scene, the rendering lacks actuality, and since the achievement of the transport did not have symbolical dignity either, the result is, from the monumental point of view, an artistic failure." (p. 76) So too are the scenes of

dancers and wrestlers in consecutive series from Beni Hasan: "These, however, do not represent the choice of a pregnant moment of action; the result is therefore, as often as not, frozen and lifeless gestures or, in the case of the wrestlers, an endless number of variations on the theme of two intertwined figures which neither in themselves nor in the mass clearly suggest factual movement." (p. 76)

To the two-dimensional art of the New Kingdom and its implications the author has devoted a section longer than that on Mesopotamian art. The section is divided into the pre-Amarnah, Amarnah, and post-Amarnah phases and the battle scenes of the late New Kingdom. The new concept which intrudes at the outset is the interest in man's political life: "Generally speaking, the shift is from an exclusive preoccupation with the lasting significance of life in death which we found in the Old Kingdom and from abortive attempts in the direction of monumentality of the Middle Kingdom painters, toward a new concept of timeless existence, more individual than the former, less challenging than the latter. Not the typical aspects of life bound up with man's material wealth, not man's single and historical achievement, but his *political* function became the focus of interest, namely, his public activities in what had become a powerful empire and still remained a hierarchic state." (pp. 78-79.) The scenes of daily life now illustrate the tomb owner's official function as supervisor of works and collector of revenue and they lose their original meaning in these latter cases. There is a logical inconsistency in the tomb scenes when the owner is represented in one part as dead but passively watching, in another part as an official engaged in his business, and still elsewhere as deceased and undergoing funeral rites. The original Old Kingdom scheme, as interpreted by Mrs. Frankfort, has been done violence, and yet the space and time implications prevail without the intention of aiming at dramatic space being involved. Changes do occur, however, when the spectator is drawn into the orbit of a scene by the almost functional rendering of figures and groups, as in certain banquet scenes with full face rendering, or when actuality in a scene seems to be more than a contingency of an abstract scheme, as in the emotional appeal of an individualized widow at the feet of a sarcophagus or the terror of a majestic animal about to die. In these cases and in those where man's political functions are stressed, there is an ever increasing tendency to localize the action, and this results in an interest in topography which has implications for the rendering of space.

In the art of the Amarnah period the author sees a secularization of content and the supplanting of the traditional scenes connected with the deceased by a narrative of his significant doings. The world of Osiris is suppressed, and this leaves the tomb owner, in one case at least, as a small, officious, and likeable creature carrying out the king's business and receiving his reward. Spatial experiments such as the abandonment of the ground line and the use of dramatic space are characteristic. In the absence of significant meaning, however, true monumental art is not achieved, and the

author finds the narrative repetitious and the representation as dull as its liveliness is shallow. Post-Amarnah art fares better for a brief period, as illustrated by the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, but it is only in the royal battle reliefs that a new development in spatial rendering is to be discovered.

In the battle reliefs of Seti I at Karnak Mrs. Frankfort finds true monumentality for the first time in the history of Egyptian painting and relief. This development is never quite fulfilled and, generally speaking, is annulled in the subsequent relief of Rameses II and III. In the Seti reliefs not the trivial events of the Amarnah tombs but the tensest episodes of history are given actuality, and the conflict between momentariness and timelessness is solved.

The contribution of Mrs. Frankfort's essay is in her discussion of spatial rendering and her analysis of examples. The reader may experience difficulty, however, in understanding why monumentality, or rather its absence, has been chosen as a *Leitmotiv*. Monumentality as used in the essay is a quality of art which entails reference to actuality, with the emphasis either on its space and time character, or on its transcendent significance; it frequently involves an element of tension, as in a king fighting or two individuals in a confrontation scene. Monumentality is characteristic of Egyptian sculpture from the time of the first dynasties, but not of painting and relief. In the author's examination of Mesopotamian reliefs she finds only a few cases where it is achieved, notably the Naram-Sin stele and the presentation scene on the Hammurabi Code monument. In Cretan art it is totally lacking. The reviewer suggests that the concept could have been used profitably only if a fuller discussion of sculpture in the round had been introduced, a subject which the author recognizes as closely related but has chosen to exclude as lying outside the scope of her study. As the essay stands, it seems to be largely concerned with the absence of monumentality, an admittedly curious approach to an analysis of ancient painting and relief.

As to the substance of the essay, namely that the type of spatial rendering in each case is particularly appropriate to its content, this is *a priori* an argument which can hardly be questioned. Form and content are axiomatically difficult to separate, and we should be surprised to find in the art of any well-defined period a type of rendering that is inappropriate to its content. It is hard to believe, however, that the Egyptian tomb artists of the Old Kingdom deliberately rejected illusionistic rendering and perspective, or the paths thereto, with the knowledge that such rendering was inconsistent with the nature and function of the subject matter. Certainly it is erroneous to consider the ancient artists as ignorant of some of the principles of illusionistic rendering, but we cannot assume that they consciously rejected them. In connection with Mrs. Frankfort's interpretation of the scenes of daily life, it is not conclusively proved that the owner is to be considered as man in death watching the manifestations of life. She dismisses too easily the view that he is inactive because he is a man for whom things are

done rather than one who actually performs them.

On the whole, Mrs. Frankfort has tackled with success and persistence a set of problems usually ignored by the archaeologist and too lightly dealt with by the art historian. Since Heinrich Schäfer's study of Egyptian art, few have examined the reasons for its strangeness. The sections on Mesopotamian and Cretan art are stimulating. The latter is treated independently of the art of the mainland, an approach which seems to be advocated by many in recent years.

As the passages quoted above indicate, the author's presentation is forceful. On occasion the reader is jarred by overstatements which are perhaps not so strong in their contexts. Nevertheless, a few minor points deserve attention. On page 78 the tomb of Antefoker is referred to as "the only remaining Middle Kingdom tomb in Thebes." The tomb is more properly that of his wife, Senet, and is hardly the only Middle Kingdom tomb there (see the author's plate 26, for example). On page 63 the lack of significant reliefs from Middle Kingdom funerary temples is lamented; the dearth is not so great as the author suspects. On page 91 a scene is described in which a girl has fallen and is helped by her companion; the scene, however, is almost universally thought to represent two gleaners fighting. On page 148 it is said that there are no parallels outside Mesopotamia for the word lists. Although not strictly analogous, the lists published by Sir Alan Gardiner in *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford 1947) certainly should not be so completely excluded (see Charles F. Nims, "Egyptian Catalogues of Things," *JNES* 9, 253-262, a review article).

Errata noted are: page 60, for pl. xxxii b, read pl. xxiii b; page 125, for pl. xlv read fig. 25; on pages 121 and following, the references to the battle scenes should be to Wreszinski, *Atlas II*, not I.

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EVERYDAY LIFE IN BABYLON AND ASSYRIA, by Georges Contenau, translated from the French by K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. Pp. xv + 328, pls. xxiv, figs. 32. St. Martin's Press Inc., New York, 1954. \$5.00.

Dr. Georges Contenau is one of the most prolific writers in the field of ancient Near Eastern studies. To name only a few of his publications, they range from *Contracts néo-babyloniens* (1927-29) to *La civilisation d'Assur et de Babylone* (1937), from *Le déluge babylonien* (1941) to *La magie chez les assyriens et les babyloniens* (1947) and from the short but very useful booklet *Arts et styles de l'Asie antérieure d'Alexandre à l'Islam* (1948) to the monumental *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (in four volumes, 1927-1947).

With the present book, or rather with the original, *La Vie quotidienne à Babylone et en Assyrie* (1950), M. Contenau has undertaken to fill a gap in the litera-

ture of the field. For the reader unacquainted with the mass of specialized and widely scattered literature, or with B. Meissner's cumbersome *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1920-1925), there exists no general, lucid account from which he could inform himself concerning the spiritual and material culture of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

M. Contenau's table of contents reads as if the present volume were indeed such an account. The book is divided into four chapters. The first, *General Information*, ranges from the country, inhabitants, language, to the confectioner and seller of songs. The second chapter, *King and State*, leads from the palace of king Sargon II at Khorsabad to the type of warships used by the Assyrians. The third chapter deals with Mesopotamian thought, the fourth with religious life. Every major topic discussed within the chapters is included in the table of contents which thus serves as a partial index, although a *Select Index* at the end of the book further aids the reader in locating single items.

According to the introduction, the book covers the most fully documented period of Assyro-Babylonian history, ca. 700-530 B.C., from the reign of the Sargonid dynasty in Assyria to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great of Persia. In the treatment of the single items, however, M. Contenau does not limit himself to this age, but brings in a vast amount of evidence from earlier periods. Such a treatment would have necessitated full explanation of the connections between earlier and later material, and ample references. Instead, there is throughout the book an obvious desire to limit the volume of text and to give only very few references. Probably this is due to a mistaken notion of what the average reader wants and needs. At any rate, the method here employed may even mislead such an average reader by presenting to him as facts what are often only debatable suppositions. Moreover, the paucity of references will force the reader to find his own sources for specific items, instead of being able to profit from M. Contenau's vast bibliographical knowledge.

An extreme example of the procedure here criticized is given by the paragraph which, according to its title, *Gilgamesh in Art*, discusses the representations of the mythical king of Uruk and hero of the most widely known Mesopotamian epic. It reads as follows: "The Gilgamesh motif is found in the very earliest historical period, in Egypt, carved on the ivory handle of a shaped flint knife, and in varying forms it persists through the centuries, finally reaching Europe at the time of the barbarian invasions, when it became a decorative feature on Merovingian belt buckles." The rest of the paragraph deals with the influence of the Gilgamesh motif on Byzantine and later art. This very cursory treatment of Gilgamesh in art is only somewhat augmented by the closing sentence of the foregoing section, the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which states that "some of Gilgamesh's exploits, notably those in which he subdues monsters, are depicted in art throughout the whole of the Near East. . ."

While it is indeed likely that Gilgamesh was repre-

sented in Near Eastern art by many of the heroes conquering lions and monsters, this identification has never been proved by documentary evidence and therefore cannot be made without reservation. Moreover, in view of the fact that the Egyptian knife handle mentioned by M. Contenau dates from about 3000 B.C. while the texts naming Gilgamesh are about a thousand years later, an explanation would have been in order to avoid giving the impression that the figure on the knife handle should be regarded as representing Gilgamesh. Lastly, some reference, perhaps to M. Contenau's *Manuel III*, p. 1592 should have given the reader a chance to inform himself about the knife handle once it had been brought into the discussion. Similarly, a reference to E. Salin, "Sur quelques images tutelaires de la Gaule Mérovingienne, apports orientaux et survivances sumériennes" (*Syria* 23 [1942-3] 201ff.) on which M. Contenau obviously based his remarks about the motifs of the belt buckles, would have surely been appreciated by someone not familiar with the article.

It is unfortunate also that the translators did not feel justified in eliminating occasional repetitions and did not correct the oversight on p. 216 according to which Sennacherib instead of Esharhaddon is mentioned as the father of Ashurbanipal.

With all the criticisms here voiced, the book nevertheless points up the need for such a work and the great difficulties inherent in the task. We therefore have ample reason to be grateful to M. Contenau for his pioneering effort.

EDITH PORADA

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THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST IN PICTURES RELATING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT, by James B. Pritchard. Pp. xvi + 111 (text), figs. 769 on 240 pp. + 4 maps. Princeton University Press, 1954. \$20.00.

In editing the volume *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton University Press, 1950), Professor Pritchard presented one aspect of the double faceted record of man's past, "their . . . literature, documents, and other writings." The same scholar has now very successfully assembled an account of the other facet, "the more graphic record in monument, building, and artifact." *ANET* and *ANEP* (as the author refers to these two books) should be used together to supplement each other, and indeed a new, revised edition of *ANET* has just been published (Spring of 1955) to serve as a most up-to-date companion volume to *ANEP*.

"Relating to the Old Testament" is the volume's subtitle and is Professor Pritchard's way of suggesting that a principle underlying the choice of the material, has been relevance (defined in a rather broad sense) of the objects to the Old Testament. In this manner a pre-Dynastic Egyptian slate palette (fig. 12), a Twentieth Dynasty statue of Ta-weret (fig. 568), South Arabian incense altars (figs. 579, 581, third to first

centuries B.C.) and other seemingly extra-biblically relevant objects have been included in *ANEP*. The reason for this, as expressed by the author, is that "this wider interpretation of relevance rests upon the observation of a certain cultural unity which prevailed throughout the ancient Near East and in which the peoples of Palestine participated" (p. vii). Professor Pritchard concludes this particular paragraph with the hope "that the generous definition of relationship which underlies the selection of the material may serve to make the volume of use to students whose primary interest is more general and who are concerned with the history and culture of the entire area of the ancient Near Eastern world."

This omnibus task of direct Old Testament relevance and its broad extensions to "adjacent and related cultures . . . from times earlier [and later] than the biblical period" (p. vii) is truly an important consideration for the overall understanding of the Old Testament and its times and has been in a large measure successfully achieved in Professor Pritchard's new volume. The idea of being exceedingly generous with the material at times, however, obscures the underlying aim of the book. Entire sections of the book lack even a single reference to an object from Palestine. Certainly the cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Anatolia each had their own unique impact on the Old Testament and the Land of the Bible, but undoubtedly the indigenous cultures of Palestine did so as well. The inclusion of as many relevant objects from Palestine as possible, native products—both original and imitations—and foreign imports should have been the author's constant consideration.

The author mentions advisors he consulted for the selection of material, all of them eminent authorities in each of the fields of archaeology which *ANEP* covers. The courtesies afforded the author as indicated by his acknowledgements certainly give one the warmest feeling regarding the cooperation that exists internationally in at least this area of information.

The plates (several of recent discoveries "not previously published," or of objects in American museums which now will replace some of the more familiar European pieces which have steadily appeared in the earlier handbooks) are generally very good. Many new photographs were taken of important objects and their clarity (as well as all the others) is due to the format of the book and the fine gravure.

Each illustration has a descriptive entry which is included after the plates for most convenient reference. At the maximum the following amount of information is given: a paragraph which thoroughly summarizes all the significant details of the object, a second paragraph which gives, when possible, present location, museum number, provenience, date of discovery, material(s) of which it is made, size or scale, date to which it is attributed (varying criteria), references to its publication, significant or convenient references to other publications and discussions, and the source of the photograph. Dates and chronologies as well as spellings are the same as in *ANET*.

The book is divided into ten general sections within

which there are further subdivisions. Since a strict classification of any one object is impossible, there are numerous cross references and an excellent index. There is no comprehensive bibliography, but preceding most of the sections and subsections are lists of specialized source readings. Professor Pritchard lists the various important handbooks of a similar nature that preceded his volume, but neglects to include A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* (Paris, Volume 1, 1939; Volume 2, 1953), and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, Volume 1, 1950; Volume 2, 1954).

It is not my intention to review this volume picture by picture discussing the merits or deficiencies of each one or its entry. As already stated, the book is in general an admirable and highly commendable undertaking. I should nevertheless like to make some specific suggestions regarding illustrative material which would, I believe, reinforce the author's intention of presenting "illustrations which are obviously relevant to the history, daily life, and religion of Palestine." The majority of my additions are objects from Palestine which should have been included in this volume to help create a larger and more comprehensive picture of that land and its relationship to the neighboring areas.

The section "Peoples and their Dress" has 66 pictures and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Various Peoples; (b) Egyptian; (c) Mesopotamian; (d) Elamite, Median and Persian; (e) Hittites and Successors; (f) Syrian; (g) Syrian and Sea Peoples; (h) Arabian. In this section it may have been appropriate to include more of the Megiddo ivories. Certainly the ivory, Oriental Institute A22292 (Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 11, p. 10) not included in this volume at all (probably due to its poor condition although a reconstruction drawing exists which shows clothed males and females) should have been reproduced. Cross references should have been made to the Megiddo Victory Procession ivory, fig. 332 and the standing woman, fig. 125. The Hebrew seals of "Shemab" and "Pera" (Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, p. 28, fig. 2; p. 41, fig. 31) showing standing, clothed male figures and dating from the Iron Age in Palestine and the Hebrew seal of "Eliamas" (Bossert, *Altisrien*, no. 1201), probably of the same date, should have been included. Finally, a serious omission is a cross reference to the important Moabite stele of Shihhan, fig. 177 (Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 79, pl. 11; in *Iraq* [1953] 161-166, O. Tufnell dates this monument to the 24th or 23rd century B.C.). In style it suggests Late Bronze Hittite work.

The section on "Daily Life" has 161 pictures and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Personal Adornment; (b) Agriculture; (c) Cattle Keeping; (d) Boating, Shipping and Fishing; (e) Building; (f) Weights; (g) Woodwork; (h) Ivory Carving; (i) Metalwork; (j) Textiles; (k) Pottery Making; (l) Breadmaking; (m) Brewing; (n) Wine Making and Drinking; (o) Warfare; (p) Hunting and Animals; (q) Music and Games; (r) Miscellaneous. Some additional pictures should have been incorporated into

this section to present a broader picture of the Palestinian material. In the Personal Adornment subsection, the inclusion of an example of the locally made, well shaped Tell el-Yahudiyeh perfume or oil juglets as well as the golden, twin-headed top of a cosmetic jar and a kohl jar from Megiddo (Loud, *Megiddo II*, pls. 231-2) would have been desirable. In Boating, the pottery boat from the Israelite-Phoenician cemetery at ez-Zib (ancient Ahsib) would have been interesting to compare to the other examples illustrated. The Weights section would have been more complete if the Lachish weights (*Lachish III*, pl. 51) and the charming turtle-shaped weight in the Reifenberg Collection inscribed "peleg reva" (half one-quarter) (Reifenberg, *A. H. Arts*, p. 55, no. 4) were included. A fenestrated Syrian axe similar in type to the one brandished by Resheph on the inscribed Megiddo stela (*ANEP*, fig. 476) was excavated at that site as well (*Megiddo II*, pl. 182, no. 3); this interesting relationship should have been indicated either in the Warfare or Metalwork section. Ezion-geber (Tell el-Kheleifeh) does not appear on the map in this volume, and in fact only a single object from this site of King Solomon's copper refining center is included in *ANEP* (fig. 136). Certainly the seal-ring of "Jotham" (possibly the King of Judah 750-735 B.C.) in its original copper casing found during the excavations of Ezion-geber by N. Glueck for the American Schools of Oriental Research and now in the Smithsonian Institution should have appeared in this volume (Glueck, *Smithsonian Report for 1941*, pl. 6). In the Pottery Making subdivision it would have been desirable if each of the twenty-eight pottery vessels reproduced in fig. 148 were briefly identified. Since ceramic classification is so important in Palestinian archaeology this would have been helpful and instructive. In Hunting and Animals, the graceful horned animal incised on a limestone paving slab and dating from the Chalcolithic period at Megiddo (*Megiddo II*, pl. 276) and the Late Bronze Age "Megiddo vase" (May and Engberg, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, pl. XL) decorated with various kinds of animals and a lively crab below the handle should have appeared in this section. In Music and Games, it would have been pleasant to see included the pair of bronze cymbals from Megiddo (*Megiddo II*, pl. 185), the sistrum handle from Tell Beit-Mirsim (*BASOR*, No. 56, p. 10) and the female musician from the ez-Zib cemetery. In the omnibus Miscellaneous section, there are pictured a group of nine objects ranging from a Natufian (10,000-7500 B.C.) bone implement to a fourth century B.C. Hebrew coin. Considering the fact that there are two pre-Bronze Age objects in this section, it could have been successfully expanded to include the Chalcolithic star fresco from Teleilat el-Ghassul (Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul* [Rome 1934] frontispiece), the Neolithic "Tel Aviv" Venus, objects of the Yarmukian culture (*IEJ*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-19) and other early periods.

Section three is devoted to various forms of writing. It has 61 pictures and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Scribes and Equipment; (b) Cuneiform; (c) Ugaritic; (d) Egyptian; (e) Alphabetic; (f)

miscellaneous. One of the well preserved inscribed royal jar handles mentioning a Biblical city of the Judean monarchy (*PEQ* [1941] 89-109) should have been included (a drawing of a non-royal handle appears, fig. 278).

Section four, titled "Scenes from History and Monuments," has 85 pictures, representing an excellent choice.

Section five, "Royalty and Dignitaries," has 88 pictures, and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Egyptian; (b) Mesopotamian; (c) Others. Here it may have been proper to include the terracotta head of a Semitic Chieftain (?) of the Late Iron Age found by N. Glueck at Khirbet el-Medeyineh (Moab) (*BASOR* 14 [1934] fig. 6a; Bossert, *Altsyrien*, pls. 1092-3).

Section six, "Gods and their Emblems," has 111 pictures and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Syrian; (b) Mesopotamian and Anatolian; (c) Egyptian.

Section seven, "The Practice of Religion," has 98 pictures and is subdivided into the following categories: (a) Altars and Sockets; (b) Other Cultic Objects; (c) Priests, Offerings, and Rituals; (d) Funerary Scenes and Objects; (e) Monsters, Demons, and Amulets; (f) Myth and Legend. The inclusion of the Palestinian square, four-legged type altars (Petric, *Gerar*, pl. XLII) which probably are related to the South Arabian altars of the same type reproduced in *ANEP* (figs. 579, 581) would have set up an interesting parallel (Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 144, suggests this). The three-pronged forks (flesh-hooks?) from Gezer (Macalister, *Gezer* II, fig. 244) might have been included.

Section eight, "Myth, Legend and Ritual on Cylinder Seal," has 35 pictures. No seals that were excavated in Palestine were included in this group. For a Hebrew seal depicting the hero Gilgamesh grasping two monsters see *IEJ* 4 (1954) 238, pl. 21, 3.

Finally, section nine, "Views and Plans of Excavations," has 63 pictures subdivided into the following categories: (a) General; (b) Walls, Gates and Fortifications; (c) Houses; (d) Temples and Other Buildings; (e) Miscellaneous; (f) From Neighboring Areas. There are also four archaeological maps of the Near East, which make up *ANEP*'s tenth section.

The foregoing recommendations (which could be expanded) are by no means an attempt to make *ANEP* an exhaustive survey. They represent, however, this reviewer's sole criticism and help to fill the needless gaps made by excluding relevant Palestinian objects. In addition, a proposal may be made in regard to *ANEP* in particular and to this sort of publication in general. As excavations and research continue and our knowledge of this area increases, more significant material becomes available. Certainly a volume purporting to show the *Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* should not consider itself completed upon publication and then possibly look to a future date for revision. Material will keep on appearing each year, and putting out a revised edition in, say, five years would be repetitious and extrava-

gant. Would it not therefore be possible to publish every year or two a collection of the most important new materials available and present them in the same format and organization? The difficulties of sifting through thousands of photographs would be avoided and the information in this area would expand steadily rather than in spurts. The index of the present volume could be reprinted, constantly incorporating the additional references as each soft-covered folio appears. For example, the recently excavated Neolithic Jericho heads (*ILN*, Oct. 17, 1953), the finds at Beth-yerah, Beth-shan (*AJA* 59 [1955] pls. 50-53), Tell Qasileh (*IEJ*, Vol. 1, nos. 2, 3, 4) and Khirbet Qumran (*Revue Biblique* [1952] 88-106, pls. I-VII and *Khirbet Qumran*, Vol. 1, 1955), to mention but a few, could appear soon after being uncovered and studied. Objects from all the areas (in Professor Pritchard's broad interpretation of relevance) could be included as well. In this way the information could be made generally available, a second, revised edition would be much easier to produce, and a still useful and excellent original edition (with its additions) could be kept.

KARL KATZ

JERUSALEM

QATABAN AND SHEBA: Exploring the Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, by Wendell Phillips. Pp. xvi + 362, illus. 83, maps 3. Harcourt, Brace, and Company, New York, 1955. \$5.00.

The Book of Kings tells us that when the Queen of Sheba heard of Solomon's fame, "she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bore spices, and very much gold, and precious stones. . . . She gave the king a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store. . . . There came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon." Although this fabulous queen has long fascinated the world, comparatively little is known of her once powerful and until recently quite inaccessible land. South Arabia has tempted explorers for generations, but relatively few have penetrated to the ruins of the great cities which once controlled the Biblical spice routes and the incense trade. Aside from a week's work in Yemen by Rathjens and von Wissmann in 1928, the only archaeological excavation had been carried out by Gertrude Caton-Thompson in the winter of 1937-38 at Hureidha in the Hadhramaut.

Qataban and Sheba is a popular account of the most recent and, in fact, the only large-scale archaeological trek to this part of the world. It is the story of four expeditions to South Arabia and Sinai during 1950 and 1951 led by Wendell Phillips for the American Foundation for the Study of Man. A palaeontologist by training, Mr. Phillips gained his first experience in organizing a large-scale expedition on the 26-month African expedition which he led in 1947 under the

auspices of the University of California. After this colossal enterprise, his attention turned to South Arabia with plans for another lavishly equipped expedition. A venture of the extent envisaged by Mr. Phillips needed considerable financial backing. For this reason he established the American Foundation for the Study of Man, an organization "formed specifically to conduct world-wide research on the origins, development, and history of man from earliest times to the present." The generous support he obtained from men of science, industry, and the educational world should be an encouragement to archaeologists with similar ventures in mind. Mr. Phillips is not an archaeologist nor does he claim to be. One of his greatest talents is his organizational ability. Another is his faculty for surrounding himself with experts and utilizing their knowledge and experience to great advantage. Without his careful planning and organization, an expedition run on the scale of this one would have been virtually impossible. Without the scholars who cooperated with him, it would have been impossible to evaluate and interpret the vast amount of material unearthed.

The first Arabian Expedition of the Foundation got under way in 1950 with Professor William F. Albright as chief archaeologist, and Dr. Albert Jamme and Professor Alexander Honeyman, epigraphers. Its destination was the Wadi Beihan in the western part of Aden Protectorate, site of Timna, the capital of the ancient Qatabanian Kingdom. There excavations were carried out at the main mound, the cemetery, and the nearby mound of Hajar bin Humeid where Professor Albright, at the end of two seasons' work, was able to establish a pottery sequence for South Arabia back to 1000 B.C. Much fascinating archaeological material was found and hundreds of inscriptions were copied. Specific knowledge of the history of Qataban begins with a graffito inscription of the tenth or eleventh century B.C., found by Dr. Jamme, which is the oldest inscription yet discovered in Arabia.

The third season found Mr. Phillips with permission to enter the previously forbidden Yemen and excavate at Marib, the Queen of Sheba's capital. Since the visit of Glaser in 1889, no western scholar had been to Marib. No English or American explorer had ever visited this city, and the prospect of actually digging there left Mr. Phillips "speechless with joy." Little did he realize, however, the difficulties which were to beset his expedition once there. They attempted to excavate a temple dedicated to Ilumquh, the moon god, but troubles with local petty officials developed to the point of endangering the lives of the staff, who were finally forced to flee hurriedly to friendly Beihan. They escaped with their lives but equipment worth thousands of dollars and much priceless archaeological material had to be abandoned at Marib. The account of this escape is breath-taking, and one admires the courage and devotion of the expedition members, who, rather than return home, admitting defeat, continued on to Oman and excavated in the province of Dhofar, finding there the first pre-Islamic city known in Oman. Mr. Phillips' book also includes a brief and interesting

account of a visit to the Monastery of St. Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai, where the Foundation in cooperation with the Library of Congress and Alexandria University was microfilming the monastery's priceless manuscripts.

Qataban and Sheba is a vivid and colorful, occasionally perhaps brash, narrative of adventure and archaeology in South Arabia; it is illustrated by excellent photographs. The text now and then reads like advertising copy, but it was obviously the author's intent to give *quid pro quo* to the large corporations which provided both money and equipment. The book is not, nor was it intended to be, an excavation report, but much archaeological information is to be gleaned from a careful reading. The Albright chronology is reproduced in outline as is a chart of South Arabian letters prepared by Dr. Jamme. For the general reader it is an exciting and fascinating adventure story; for the scholar it is a tantalizing introduction to the wealth of information which will "fill the large volumes soon to be issued by The Johns Hopkins University Press." One's only regret is that it may be many years before another expedition can return to Yemen to continue the work begun by Mr. Phillips and his expedition.

JOAN LINES

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE ALALAKH TABLETS, by D. J. Wiseman. Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 2. Pp. iv + 164, pls. 58. London, 1953. £1.15.0.

The purpose of this publication is to make available the evidence furnished by the more than 450 inscribed tablets found by Sir Leonard Woolley during his excavations at Atshana (ancient Alalakh) in 1937-39 and 1946-49. The collection, which is widely diverse in its subject matter, is of especial importance in that it fills many gaps in our knowledge of the second millennium B.C. in Syria and western Asia. It provides much new material which supplements that already published from Ras Shamra, Chagar Bazar, Mari, Nuzi, and Tell el Amarna.

The importance of the Alalakh tablets was first indicated by Sidney Smith in a preliminary report (*Ant* 19 [1939]). In *Alalakh and Chronology* (1940) Mr. Smith demonstrated the significance of this material in a wider historical framework. Next followed the publication of the remarkable statue of Idrimi (Smith, 1949) which gave a further hint as to the valuable (and also difficult) material which was to be provided by the Alalakh inscriptions. Now Mr. Wiseman has given us a concise and useful catalogue of the tablets. The book is not intended as a definitive publication but aims to present as much information as possible without undue delay. In this it is of great value to both epigraphers and historians and furnishes basic material for much further study of western Asia in the second millennium.

The book begins with a general introduction in which is summarized the historical and linguistic information provided by the tablets. This section is especially valuable to those whose primary concern is not the tablets themselves but the general historical pattern into which they fit. The tablets come mainly from two levels, one of the eighteenth and one of the fifteenth century B.C. There are relatively few historical or religious texts, but the great number of legal and economic documents provide us with information about the economic, social and political life of these two periods. The earlier tablets come from the reigns of Abban (probably contemporary with Hammurapi of Babylon), Ammitaku, and Irkabtum. At this period Alalakh appears to have been a prosperous outpost of the neighboring state of Iamhad which had its capital at nearby Aleppo. The records of the fifteenth century reveal a stronger political state. The Mitannian rulers, who dominated Upper Syria at that time, seem to have left a great measure of autonomy to the local princes of Alalakh, whose authority seems also to have extended over the province of Mukis. The first ruler of the period, Idrimi, son of Ilmilimma, is known primarily from his inscribed statue. There are many tablets from the reigns of Niqmepa and Ilmilimma (II?), but the chronological order of the rulers of this period is a matter of some debate. Wiseman and Smith do not agree on the dating and have postulated two different orders of succession. More evidence will be needed, however, to settle the question to the satisfaction of all.

The introduction continues with an enumeration of geographical references, population figures, and additional material on industry and produce. The census lists are particularly valuable in providing insight into the social organization of the time. An interesting fact is that already, in the eighteenth century, Alalakh was predominantly Hurrian. This would indicate that the Hurrians had been in this area for some time, but does not prove, as Mr. Wiseman suggests, that we are dealing with the indigenous population, especially when we note the increase in Hurrian linguistic matter in the fifteenth century.

The introduction concludes with a section on orthography in which the forms are merely enumerated. A fuller discussion of morphology and syntax would have been useful here but would, obviously, have delayed the publication of the book and necessitated a much larger volume. Scholars should be grateful to Mr. Wiseman for presenting so much new material so soon after its excavation. One hopes that more comment on the texts will be forthcoming now that they are available to all.

Most of the volume is devoted to a catalogue of the tablets. A résumé is given of each text and the more important ones are transliterated and translated. Indices of personal names, place names, professions and occupations, and a selected vocabulary follow. Dr. O. R. Gurney has contributed an appendix on a Hittite divination text. Also included are 58 excellent plates of autographed texts.

Mr. Wiseman's publication is of great value both to

historians and philologists. A large body of material has been presented lucidly and carefully. The shortcomings of the book are more than compensated for by the inclusion of so much that is new. One of the difficulties of the volume is that not all of the tablets could be reproduced in copy, so that much of the information to be found in the summaries and indices comes from tablets which are available in résumé only. This lack has now been remedied with the publication by Mr. Wiseman in the *JCS* 8 (1954), of supplementary copies of the Alalakh tablets. Now all the tablets from this site are available in copy with the exception of the longer lists of personal names and some of the more damaged fragments. In this same article Mr. Wiseman provides a list of text corrections which should be noted by all those who use his book. A great deal of work has gone into the preparation of the excellent copies, the indices, and the catalogue itself. Thanks to Mr. Wiseman, cuneiformists and historians now have at their finger-tips much new material on a hitherto relatively unknown area of the ancient world.

JOAN LINES

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

IRAN: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST, by R. Ghirshman. Pp. 368, figs. 108, pls. 48. Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1955. \$1.00.

The Pelican edition of Dr. Ghirshman's *Iran* is an English translation of his *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Payot, Paris, 1951). In this work Dr. Ghirshman has performed a great service both to professional archaeologists and to the general public, for with its publication there exists, for the first time, a comprehensive archaeological history of Iran. No one man could hope to treat to the satisfaction of all the scores of problems encountered in such a study, but Dr. Ghirshman, more than any other, has the experience and background necessary to write this history. His own excavations have spanned the many centuries which his book so adequately covers. In 1949 in the Bakhtiari mountains he explored the cave of Tang-i-Pabda, which had been inhabited in neolithic times. He has excavated at Siyalk, one of the oldest prehistoric towns in Iran, at Giyan, Assadabad, and in Luristan and Afghanistan. His work at the Sassanian site of Bishapur brings us to the latest period discussed. Much of the book was written at Susa, the Achaemenian royal city where he has been directing excavations for many years.

A history of such scope must, of necessity, avoid many of the problems of concern to scholars. Dr. Ghirshman is to be commended, however, for the amount of material included and for the emphasis he places on it. Understandably, much of the volume is devoted to the Medes and Persians, but not to the point of neglecting other material. A brief introduction on the physical aspect of Iran is followed by fifty pages covering the more than 3,000 years which elapsed

between the time when "prehistoric man left his caves to settle in the plains and valleys and the arrival of the Iranians on the Plateau. During this long span of time man acquired and improved his knowledge of agriculture, learned to domesticate animals, and made his first essays in metallurgy." Dr. Ghirshman suggests, as have many before, that Iran was the home of painted pottery. Certainly the tradition persisted longer there than in Mesopotamia, and nowhere else can one find parallel craftsmanship, but at present there is no evidence for its exclusive invention in Iran. There is no reason to believe that Siyalk I is earlier than the Hassuna period in Mesopotamia; in fact it may well be later.

Another problem which arises in connection with the early painted pottery peoples of Iran is the question of the break between Susa I and Susa II. Dr. Ghirshman states that "at Susa, painted pottery suddenly stops and is replaced by a monochrome red ware with handle and tubular spout. This also occurs on the Mesopotamian plain." Painted pottery, however, does continue through the intermediate levels at Susa, but in much smaller proportion and more coarsely executed; prototypes of Susa II can also be found. The transition at Susa is probably no more abrupt than is that from the 'Ubaid to the Uruk period in Mesopotamia. In the latter case the evidence (particularly that from Eridu) indicates that although painted pottery gradually disappears, other elements of the civilization persist, and there appears to be no major change in population. The evidence from Dr. Ghirshman's dig and from other excavations in the Susa area seems to indicate that Susa II did not develop independent of Susa I.

Dr. Ghirshman clearly demonstrates the complexity of Iranian civilization and shows how, for centuries, Iran served as a highway for the transmission of ideas. From time immemorial foreign peoples have passed across or settled on the Plateau. The historical problems are exceedingly intricate, the ethnic groups difficult to define, and Dr. Ghirshman is to be commended for his lucid commentary. Not everyone will agree with his theories or his dating, but the intent of the book is general history and not critical commentary. In the Pelican edition a selected bibliography has been appended (to which might be added Professor Schaeffer's *Stratigraphie comparée*) for the benefit of those who wish to pursue some of the more controversial problems, but it would be a help to the general reader if the text distinguished more clearly between fact and theory.

In the second chapter Dr. Ghirshman discusses the coming of the Iranians. "They absorbed the aboriginal population, and established their own civilization, which inevitably had roots in the cultures of the neighboring states. . . . Settled in the valleys of the Zagros, the invaders cast their political, cultural, and even to a certain extent their religious life in the mold fashioned for them by the civilizations they were later to absorb." The struggles between Assyria, Urartu, and various Persian groups highlight this period. In this chapter Dr. Ghirshman persists in several mis-

attributions in connection with the so-called Sakiz (Zawiyeh) treasure first published by him in *ArtAsiae* 13 (1950) 181-206. These errors were corrected by André Godard in vol. 14 of the same publication, pp. 240-245, where it was also pointed out that what Ghirshman calls a "hieroglyphic inscription" on the silver plate from this treasure is not an inscription but merely a series of symbols which served as guides in attaching ornaments to the silver plate. (Dr. Ghirshman's dating, however, is preferable to Godard's.)

Dr. Ghirshman succeeds in showing clearly how the geographical position of the Iranians profoundly affected their history and civilization, how they never lost their connection with their native steppes, but how, once their society became organized and a regular government established, they turned towards the Mesopotamian world, contact with which in all periods had led to a higher degree of civilization in western Iran than in its eastern regions. Thus the Iranians developed a culture that drew simultaneously on the rich inheritance of two very different worlds, a situation which persisted in Iranian history for many centuries and is true of that country even today. In the assimilation of cultures to the west, the Persians eventually came face to face with Greek civilization, and "the oligarchic Achaemenian monarchy engaged in a struggle with the democratic empire of Greece." The Achaemenians learned much from the Greeks, but too often there is a tendency, especially in the field of art, to credit the Greeks with what is truly Persian.

After the march of Alexander against the Persians and the downfall of his empire, came the Seleucids, and it was the growing weakness of this empire that encouraged the rise of the Parthians. The final two chapters, dealing with these people and the Sassanians, provide a concise treatment not only of the history of these periods but of religion, art, and economic and social life as well. The struggles with Rome and with the East are outlined. Particularly enlightening is Dr. Ghirshman's discussion of Parthian art. There are two theories on this subject which at first appear irreconcilable. "According to the first, the five centuries of Parthian rule represent a 'pathetically low' artistic level and its works of art give the impression of a relapse into the unsophisticated state not of infancy but of senility. The second theory takes the contrary view, that once Parthian art had freed itself of everything grafted onto Iranian art by Hellenism, it became national in character and made 'decisive progress.'" Ghirshman argues that the two theories are not fundamentally opposed since each is interested in a different aspect of the whole. What was apparently an artistic loss was at the same time a gain on the national plane. Dr. Ghirshman attributes the strict observance of the law of frontality, characteristic of Parthian art, to the Iranians, and points out that Sassanian art is not a sudden renaissance but a "direct successor of Parthian art which was essentially Iranian in character." To Dr. Ghirshman's discussion of Parthian art one can now, of course, add the extremely interesting finds which have recently been made at Hatra. When one realizes how little we have of the

art and architecture of this period, one regrets that Parthian levels at Mesopotamian sites have so often been treated as "late debris."

Dr. Ghirshman concludes with the Sassanians who, as descendants of the Achaemenians, "founded a national state with a national religion and a civilization that was far more Iranian in character than that of the Parthians. They established a central power strong enough to curb the turbulent feudal aristocracy, built up a well-trained regular army, and provided the country with an efficient administration. Thus strengthened, Iran successfully continued the policy initiated by the last Arsacids and became so powerful that the civilized world appeared to be divided between it and Rome."

We are grateful to Dr. Ghirshman for providing such a readable and comprehensive work. In reading the book one wishes for a good archaeological map and, if not king lists, at least some sort of chronological chart, but the merits of this volume far outweigh its defects. The original edition has been improved by the addition of text figures, an index, and a selected bibliography. The number of plate illustrations has also been considerably increased. The editors of Penguin books are to be congratulated for making available this excellent and inexpensive English edition of Dr. Ghirshman's useful book. The publication of this volume adds another to the already impressive list of titles in the Pelican series of Near Eastern and Western Asiatic archaeological publications.

JOAN LINES

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

PERSEPOLIS, VOLUME I, Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions, by *Erich F. Schmidt*. Pp. 494, figs. 123, pls. 205 with one in color. (Oriental Institute Publications, Volume LXVIII) The University of Chicago Press, 1953. \$65.00.

All scholars who are interested in Near Eastern archaeology, especially those who would study Achaemenian art, find their attention irresistibly drawn to Persepolis, for, of all the sites of the period, it is Persepolis that is pre-eminent in the quantity and quality of its architectural remains. Despite the damage of time and of man, a very considerable amount of material remains on the elevated terrace where Achaemenian kings built palaces of stone and brick, roofing them with imported wood. These ruins have attracted the attention of Western travelers for many centuries and, though they have been studied and photographed in considerable detail during the past hundred years, these records have never been enough to satisfy those who wanted to study Achaemenian art and architecture closely. Of recent years, even with the beautifully produced collotype plates in Herzfeld's *Iran in the Ancient East* and the large plates in the *Survey of Persian Art* edited by A. U. Pope, one always wanted more.

This volume is the first of a set of three on Persepolis that are being produced by the Oriental Institute of

Chicago University, and it deals with the structures, their decoration and the inscriptional material. There are over two hundred half-tone photographs with some magnificent aerial views, and plans and drawings in great profusion, clearly drawn and well reproduced. As the standard of excellence is very high and the illustrations so many, the price is such that all but the most affluent scholars will have to use it in libraries. It could hardly have been otherwise, for, once the decision had been made to produce a truly comprehensive record, the resulting volumes were bound to be expensive. There is no doubt that even at \$65.00 a volume, the receipts will by no means cover the cost. From the readers' point of view, it would, with a book as heavy as this, have been easier to handle if the plates had been bound separately; it would be a great help in reading the text to see the plates at the same time, for reference to them is necessarily constant.

The verbal descriptions have been done in the most painstaking way as we always expect from the author of *Tepe Hissar*. They have the virtue of making one look more closely at the illustrations, for as one never sees all at one look (and the author has studied his subject in every detail with great thoroughness), so we shall find that his eye has perceived what we may not at once see. Occasionally, but only occasionally, one can see what he has not noted and, as is inevitable in some instances, see things in a different way. A description in words, however, no matter how detailed or how carefully done, can never reproduce in the mind exactly what the eye can see. Visual comparison in the study of art and archaeology is without question of supreme importance, and one wonders whether in a number of archaeological books the use of drawings and photographs on the one hand and text on the other could not be made more complementary than is often done. Indeed, it is a more scientific and accurate way of transferring information for the text to supplement the picture of the object rather than to repeat, but in a less satisfactory way, by description the information that the picture clearly conveys. The text should add the elements that one cannot see in the photograph or drawing.

This book commences with a scrupulously complete list of acknowledgments. The map that follows fulfills its function in showing the areas whence came the tribute bearers of various nations that figure in the stone reliefs. It is beautifully drawn, but the names of more towns, though not necessary for the purpose above, would nonetheless have been welcome—the lavishness of the book makes the reader insatiable. A "summary log" gives chronological details of the activities of the Oriental Institute on the site under the leadership of the late Professor Herzfeld from 1931-34 and under Dr. Schmidt from 1935-39. Since that date there has been some little work done by the Iranian Antiquity Service which allowed some of their plans and survey to be incorporated in this book. Some photographs of unfinished capitals discovered in these later excavations were published in *ILN* (Jan. 2, 1954) in an article by A. Godard, the late head of the Antiquity Service of Iran. After the "log" there

follows the main body of the book—the description of the terrace, and the buildings erected upon it with the explanatory photographs, drawings and plans inserted between the sections. An appendix by Dr. F. R. Matson on the nature of the materials used in the building, such as plaster, bitumen and so forth concludes the text.

The importance of the work of the architects on the expedition soon becomes obvious, and much credit is due to them for their technical and archaeological skill as the author himself makes very clear. Their work was essential for any true understanding of the site and the nature and use of the building upon it. With the clearance of the site the author was more or less forced to rename some of the buildings. "The Hundred-Column Hall," for example, a name to which we have long been accustomed, has been changed to the "Throne Hall" for the compelling reason that it was not the only hundred-column hall at Persepolis. Herzfeld fortunately discovered the foundation record which, in Babylonian, makes clear that it was built by Xerxes and Artaxerxes and not Darius I. A case is strongly pressed for considering this a "treasure hall of palatial proportions" to relieve the congestion of the old Treasury. In support of this argument the modern analogy of the *Gulistan* is brought forward, for in the Throne room of that Teheran palace a collection of treasures is exhibited even in modern times. The author admits there were no doors and that, even if there were clerestories, the light would be exceedingly dim. He has also noted the curious fact that nowhere in the excavations was any receptacle found that could have served as a lamp. Names for the various halls and buildings have been based on their presumed functions instead of their physical forms. The Great Audience Hall and its dependent buildings, following tradition, is called by its Old Persian name, the *Apadana*. The Central Edifice which Herzfeld called the "Tripylon" is now the "Council Hall," and its construction is attributed to Darius I.

The Treasury, that was once the storehouse for so many valuable things, of which unfortunately so few traces were found, is described in great detail through three principal phases—the first being completed between 511-507 B.C. in the reign of Darius I, the second in 492/91 B.C. The third was closely connected with the erection of Xerxes' harem when some of the Treasury had to be razed and various additions made including a new hundred-column hall. This occurred between 486 and 480 B.C. The Throne Hall mentioned above was built on bedrock on a site chosen by Xerxes and completed by his son Artaxerxes.

Some architectural problems, as might be expected on a site as ruined and rebuilt as is this, remain unsolved, but every attempt has been made to present every scrap of evidence that was obtained. The position of everything found, whether in place or not, has been described. Several interesting details were revealed by careful excavation: it was discovered, for instance, that wooden columns were treated in a fashion that resembled Strabo's description in which he said twisted reeds were wound round the pillars

and then they plastered them and painted them with colors. Painted in blue, white, and red were "intricate patterns of interlocking lozenges elaborated with paired scrolls"—a drawing shows exactly what is meant by this description.

There are several references to the color used in the decoration of Persepolis, including the floors, and little but important details, such as the red tongue of a lion on an impost block, expand the remarks of Herzfeld on the subject. It is rather unfortunate that the one color plate that is given is on such a small scale as to confuse the detail of the rosettes. Attention is also drawn to those royal figures which were decked out with gold attachments and inlays of semi-precious stones, and reference is made to the designs scratched on the robes of the king, with the suggestion made that they served as a guide to the painter. It may perhaps be observed that this technique of scratching designs on the garments of carved human figures was practised at an earlier date by the Assyrians, though in their case the lines were made more precisely and less sketchily. The difference between the appearance of the Persian drawings and the Assyrian ones is surely due to the difference in the hardness of the stone—limestone at Persepolis, and gypsum at Nimrud—and not to any lack of skill nor to a desired change in the means of expression.

The sculptured decoration is the remaining glory of Persepolis. It owes much to the art of Mesopotamia. At first glance one thinks of Assyria rather than anywhere else, because of the winged bulls so characteristic of Assyrian art. Examination of the plates will quickly show how different is this later sculpture at Persepolis even in these bulls. It is easy to see that the sculpture is not only employed differently than it was in Assyrian palaces but that there are also striking changes in the nature of the decoration itself. At Persepolis there are no battle scenes whatsoever. There are, it is true, representations of the results of successful war, as the delegations bringing tribute bear witness. No women appear in this Persian decoration, either as prisoners or as menials. There are no hunting scenes such as adorned the walls of the palace of Assur-banipal at Nineveh. In fact, when one considers those amazing decorations one realizes that this royal Persian art gives the impression of being more static than Assyrian art—even if, as the late Dr. Frankfort believed, it is more "plastic." Survivals of various sorts and influences of several kinds can be seen in these decorations of Persepolis made by the craftsmen of many peoples for the glory of the kings of one race, and it is possible that the "softness" of Achaemenian sculpture is a continuation of a trend that had begun in neo-Babylonian times. For the most part, Dr. Schmidt is concerned with a detailed description of what he has seen rather than with its artistic origins and significance—a perfectly proper limitation for him to make.

There are, however, certain things which can be observed in the plates which may perhaps give us some slight insight into the mind of those who carved the stone reliefs. For instance, it will be observed in Plate

127 that when the mason carved the back curls of the hair of a male human-headed, bull-eared sphinx he also indicated the line of his wing which the curls would hide—as though he knew he had to cut both and could leave nothing out. This is not quite the same as when Assyrians cut cuneiform inscriptions over figures in relief. In that case there is reason to believe that the inscription was drawn and incised after the figures were carved.

One of the most interesting parts of the sculptured decoration at Persepolis is that of delegations of various peoples bringing tribute—they correspond roughly to the figures shown supporting the royal throne. The problem of identification is a difficult one, and much had already been done by Herzfeld and some also by Julius Junge. They are led by ushers who are Medes and Persians—the usual distinction is drawn between them: the Medes being considered those in rounded felt hats and wearing trousers, and the Persians those with either a fillet or fluted headgear and dressed in flowing robes. It would seem reasonable, however, to consider this rigid distinction in dress as being more symbolic than actual—two particular costumes being arbitrarily chosen to represent two major groups of people. Outside the palace decorations, and certainly outside the palace itself, there must have been greater variety in the dress of the people living in Iran. Although the tribute bearers are described with great exactitude there are a few remarks that might be made in connection with them and their gear. As is shown and noted, the Achaemenian spearmen rest the butt of their weapons, which is fashioned like a sphere, on top of their feet. This may be an artistic convention or may be one of those curious, possible but improbable, poses which have flourished on parade grounds for centuries. Whether the Persian guards did this or not, what a contrast to the Greeks who could do no such thing because their spears had sharply pointed butts! These though perhaps less useful for ceremonial purposes than the Persian spears were more practical, for the Greeks could stick theirs in the ground in such a fashion that they could stack their military equipment on them. Furthermore the butt of a Greek spear, if the shaft was broken, was a more formidable weapon than the Persian one.

In the procession of the Syrian tribute bearers are chariots with linch pins carved in human form just as there are on the king's chariots (Plates 32 and 52). The reader is referred to a detailed photograph in Herzfeld's *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. 84, and the pin is described as resembling the Egyptian god Bes. The figure shown in that reference, however, has a shaven head and none of that god's physical characteristics. One wonders therefore whether the pins are all the same or whether the resemblance to Bes is a mistaken conclusion.

Usually the author is most careful in distinguishing between a fact and an assumption and is most scrupulous in naming possibilities as being only such. Perhaps one item given as a fact may be questioned. On the slabs in the Treasury, where two most interesting

reliefs were uncovered by the Oriental Institute, is a scene of the seated king Darius I with prince Xerxes standing behind him (Plate 119). At the back of the prince is a servant with a towel; in front of the king are two incense burners, and on the far side of them is a Mede who stands before him with his hand to his mouth. Immediately behind him are a spearman and a man carrying a bucket, the latter of whom is called "the bearer of the incense pail." These attendants appear elsewhere. One finds them in the doorways of the palace of Xerxes (Plate 184). One carries a towel in one hand and an unguent jar in the other, behind him another bears an incense burner and the pail. But though the pail is carried by the same man it by no means follows that it contained incense, it could just as well have contained water for lustrations. One would then have the four necessary things essential for the toilette of a man of high rank. The pail appears with great frequency in Assyrian art especially in conjunction with the "tree of life." It is carried by bird-headed creatures and by human-headed genii, who sometimes carry a pine cone in the other hand which could well serve as an aspergillum. It is also held in the hand in clay representations of these same bird-headed creatures which were buried to keep away evil spirits. That water was in the pail is made almost certain from an incantation text against diseases which has been published by A. Goetze (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 9 [1955] 8). In the case of the reliefs at Persepolis, it is impossible to say for certain what the pail contained.

Most understandably, difficulty was encountered in identifying the curled-up animals that decorate the chapes of the scabbards of some of the Medes. These extraordinarily clever designs are built up from a few selected parts of animals—a decorative skill in which the Medes and the Scyths excelled. But parts of these designs, including two ivory examples from Egypt, now in the Louvre, are not consistently from any single animal and they should not be considered as such (see Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, fig. 367; cf. also fig. 369). The little curls that appear in two of the Persepolis ones are clearly taken from the manes of horses, and the tail, when there is one in these designs, seems to resemble that of a lion rather than that of any other animal. There is another point in connection with these Median swords which calls for a remark. In a scene of the king receiving a Mede in audience the latter is bending forward and the statement is made that "the abnormal position of the Mede's sword as pictured in the eastern relief in the Treasury (Plate 123) is corrected in the sculptures of the Throne Hall (Plates 99 and 96A) where the hilt points backward, as it does in all other representations at Persepolis of Medes bearing swords." That it can be considered abnormal in the scene in the Treasury is granted but that it is "corrected" in the other reliefs is hardly true, there was no error to correct. This point is made because not only is the position shown a perfectly possible one in actuality, but it is an indication, and not the only one, that the sculptors did break what

we may consider set canons. The sculptor has represented an observed fact; whether he did it knowing that it would increase the feeling of obeisance before royalty, which it does, is less certain.

We get other suggestions of this in connection with the so-called mirror reflection to which attention is drawn in the book. In the jamb of a doorway the decoration on one side mirrors the reflection in the other. In this way right and left become confused, so that when the artist portrays such a scene as a king-hero stabbing a lion, he is to be seen holding the dagger in his right hand in one jamb and in the left hand in the other jamb. Dr. Schmidt, however, has noticed that when the king is shown with his wand (of authority) the rule no longer holds and it is always held in the right hand.

In the reliefs on the staircases of the *apadana* where the processions of tribute bearers appear twice, one can see very well the common Achaemenian device whereby the figures are shown on one staircase as being seen from the right side and, on the other, from the left side. This is quite a different convention from the mirror reflection and, unlike that, gives a more complete understanding of the dress. There are minor variations, e.g., some figures are in profile and some are not. Sometimes, when a man is at the side of an animal the two are portrayed as a pair, so that he is shown behind the beast in one view and in front of it in another. But the "rule" was sometimes broken, for in both instances he may be behind or in front in both views.

Curiously enough, the most conspicuous instance of awkwardness in representing men accompanying animals is of grooms leading the king's horses where, at least to our eyes, the men with the reins in one hand and an arm thrown over the horse's back seem in impossible positions. It is hard to believe, though, that such a scene, dealing with the appurtenances of royalty, would present any difficulties of comprehension to the people of that time.

This book provides all who would understand the art and architecture of Persepolis of the Achaemenian period with much pleasure for the eye and much food for thought. It is a book from which books can be written. The material is there with a scrupulous regard for detail, the arguments are presented in the fairest possible way, and the greatest care is taken to indicate the distinction between suggestions and facts. We are thankful that Dr. Schmidt has had the patience and persistence to produce order out of the disarray of the monuments themselves. Most men would have quailed at such a difficult task or have been smothered by it. For the magnificent photographs we cannot be too grateful. We look forward with impatience to the succeeding volumes, for we well know that they will contain material that is not to be found between any existing covers.

C. K. WILKINSON

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

TORSION. EINE FORMENKUNDLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG ZUR AIGAIISCHEN VORGESCHICHTE, by *Friedrich Matz*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1951, Nr. 12. Pp. 27, pls. 2.

One of the moot points in Aegean prehistory is the relationship between the Neolithic and Early Bronze periods: whether it is one of continuity, or of mixture by immigration, or of interruption. In a more general way these questions concern the connections with the Near East, in the direction of superior cultures, and with Europe, the barbaric backwoods.

In view of the lack of accurate archaeological information about types of sites, architecture, tombs of the relevant Aegean periods and areas it is impossible to decide these issues at present, but a general impression is gaining ground that a good deal of continuity exists between Neolithic and Early Bronze Aegean. Most of the arguments are based on ceramic evidence.

Matz in this paper concentrates on the ornamental syntax of pottery decoration, analyzing the ornaments much along the lines he followed before, but with increased appreciation of native Aegean-Anatolian talent. The *Bandkeramik* is no longer considered as the instigator of torsion, the outstanding characteristic of the Aegean repertoire. The analysis is very detailed, supplied with hundreds of references, somewhat over-abstract, and, one feels, too rarefied to carry much weight in the general debate on early developments. Many of the features claimed as specifically Aegean can be found in the Mesopotamian Hassuna repertoire, and seem too inarticulate to serve as hallmarks of any particular style, or coherent group of styles. It is interesting to notice that the Cyclades seem to be among the first Aegean areas to create a distinctive ornamental repertoire. The study of early idols, briefly discussed by Matz (also by Weinberg, *AJA* 55 [1951] 121-133 and Bittel, *PZ* 34-35 [1949-50] 135-144) indicates the potential importance of the Cyclades in Neolithic.

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KRETISCH-MYKENISCHE SIEGELBILDER. STILGESCHICHTLICHE UND CHRONOLOGISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN, by *Hagen Biesantz*. Pp. 176, figs. 61. N. G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg 1954.

The study of Minoan and Mycenaean seals is a promising enterprise. In this monograph Biesantz undertakes the chronological and stylistic analysis of MM III-LM III and LH I-III glyptic material, deferring for further study matters pertaining to iconography and religion on the one hand, and technique on the other. Such omissions leave his product rather truncated; nor is it always possible to separate the

provinces of analysis so arbitrarily as is here attempted.

One of the first tenets of the book is the unmistakable fact that left and right in Aegean glyptics are correctly rendered on the original seals and appear reversed in the impression. A list of votary statuettes in the attitude of prayer is quoted to prove that Minoans were indeed as a rule right-handed. No biologist would have doubted the conclusion even without such proof (in spite of p. 9, note 9). The author proceeds then to point out that "Die Nicht-Umkehrbarkeit des Bildes," a notion developed by Wölfflin for later art, applies to Aegean seal designs as well, arguing that the aesthetic balance of the composition is perfect in the original, defective in the impression. At this point a strong dose of scepticism seems needed; but an objective test could easily be arranged to assess the validity of Biesantz' thesis. Since the case is considered proved in the monograph, illustrations from there on are often given artificially reversed, i.e. the seal-impression is photographically reversed to show the composition of the original. This is an objectionable procedure, since the ancient seal-cutter never intended the embossed impression to appear in this form. Artificial reversal (on paper) means a disregard for the three-dimensional properties of the seal, and does the same kind of injustice to the modelling which Biesantz claims to avoid for the composition.

The distinction between Helladic and Minoan styles forms the central part of the monograph. Criteria of composition (called *Struktur*) are considered of diagnostic value as contrasted with those of style, the latter being Minoan throughout. The differentiation is of interest right from the start of Mycenaean seal-engraving in the Shaft Grave material. Biesantz claims that a mainland artist was the maker of the gold rings and beads of Shaft Graves III-IV, an artist who would have been trained by Minoan masters but whose compositions betray Helladic independence. The proficiency of the Shaft Grave seals is amazing; and it seems hard to believe that in one generation a beginning glyptic artist (no MH seals being available as prototypes) could have been so thoroughly Minoanized. It also seems incorrect to maintain that sweeping diagonals and angular movements are absent from Minoan seals. Moreover, the main "structure" of the lion bead from Shaft Grave II is undulation.

The nationality of the Shaft Grave seal-cutters (engravers) is hard to establish without further glyptic evidence, but a suspicion of foreign artisanship is as justified for the battle scenes on the gold rings as it is for the hunting scenes on the inlaid dagger (No. 394)—which should, in any case, have been compared for composition.

For the evolution of the style technical criteria are important. Some of the characteristics Biesantz adduces for the late (Minoan and Mycenaean) style: rigidity, "Gelenkknorpel," "Konturrippen"—are partly due to careless use of the cutting disc and drill which mark contours and joints without thorough modelling of the enclosed connecting areas. The result is linearity instead of fluidity, a feature which may well be due to mainland participation in the field. Minoan art has a

genuine affinity to thorough three-dimensional treatment (cf. the stucco frescoes, faïence reliefs, metal-work). In the glyptic field one should perhaps make a separate analysis of work in gold (rings, beads) and in hard stones, as being made with different tools and leading to different simplifications. The late "disintegration" style noticed by Biesantz is especially typical of gold rings (figs. 40, 41, 46; two cases in stone figs. 47-48).

The chapter on forgeries is interesting. A systematic study of the styles and groups of forgeries in Aegean art would need a volume of its own. Biesantz selects some of the most notorious fakes for a lengthy exposé (the Thisbe treasure 101 ff., the rings of Minos and Nestor 109 ff.) and adds some less suspected pieces to the latter group without much comment. It would have been desirable to devote more space and attention to these new candidates for the list of rejects (the H. Pelagia cylinder seal in Oxford; the hematite seal, Evans, *Palace of Minos* IV, 498, fig. 437; the gem *JHS* 45 [1925] 24, fig. 28); and the analysis of rejected pieces is far from complete (e.g., no mention is made of the improbable frontal pose of the woman in fig. 61).

The most useful part of the book are lists of dated seal groups from Crete and the Mainland, respectively, arranged so as to form a continuous chronological sequence. Since these lists contain a great percentage of the known material, they should have been made complete, even if this meant duplication (and more) of chronological and stylistic phases. Even in the present form, however, the catalogue is useful. In the mainland-part Shaft Grave IV, rather than III, should head the list.

The book makes lively reading in spite of lengthy theoretical passages which could have been condensed. Some of the misprints are misleading and fig. 18a is upside down (I hope). The modern study of Minoan and Mycenaean seals is just beginning. Biesantz has cleared some ground but one of the main virtues of his book is to show how much promising work remains to be done.

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OCHERKI PO ISTORII PLEMEN EVROPEISKOI CHASTI SSSR V NEOLITICHESKUYU EPOKHU (Outline History of the Tribes of the European Part of the USSR in the Neolithic Period), by *A. Ia. Bryusov*. Pp. 260, figs. 68. Academy of Sciences, USSR, Moscow, 1952.

Bryusov has written a fine summary of the neolithic period in European Russia. This work fills a serious gap in our knowledge. The text contains brief descriptions of the major cultures and discusses the general pattern of settlement of northern European Russia from the Black Sea and Caucasus regions. Bryusov outlines the evolution of the archaeological cultures of the Oka-Volga basin, the northern White

Sea groups, Karelia, the central Urals, Baltic Sea, southern and central Dnieper region, the Trypillian and eastern Steppe. Almost twenty different or related archaeological cultures are described and charts of typical finds are presented for each. These charts are a most valuable contribution and are admirably drawn.

The introduction contains a provocative discussion of the significance of the neolithic period. The author states his position on the old Montelius-Muller chronological controversy and sides heartily with the former. In fact, he is somewhat overly dependent on the Montelius scheme throughout the text. Though, in a later article reviewed in a recent number of *AJA*, he modifies his position slightly with regard to the use of scientific methods of dating, in this text he relies primarily on purely comparative methods.

The end of the ice age, according to Bryusov, found a small population at the southern limit of European Russia. Small groups having little or no connection with one another characterized this population in the mesolithic period. Technical progress occurred with the invention of the bow and arrow, and the beginnings of domestic construction were also found at this time. Important also was the growth of fishing and the development of means of communication in the early fifth and fourth millennia. The large-scale use of wooden objects like snow shoes, sledges and vehicles permitted the establishment of inter-tribal contacts and the development of ties all over Europe.

Settlement in European Russia was primarily toward the north from centers near the Black Sea and in the Caucasus. The central Volga-Oka basin was settled from the Dnieper-Don area, while the Urals were populated from the Caucasus source. Later on, these latter groups moved westward to the northern areas, while the peoples from the Volga-Oka basin expanded into the southern Baltic regions. In the more densely occupied southern areas, formerly scattered groups began to merge during the third millennium. This is reflected in the uniformity of small object types, forms of settlement and character of burials found over a wide area. Groups previously known disappeared and were assimilated by more quickly developing ones nearby.

The process of ethnic development differed in the north. Population patterns followed the principal waterways from south to north, and cultural forms from the older areas were carried along more or less intact. With large distances and small numbers, contact between groups was lost. They became isolated from each other and acquired different rates of development in accord with natural conditions. Thus, the northern archaeological cultures grew more divergent throughout the neolithic period while the southern groups became increasingly more alike.

The lesser known groups of the far north present a more complicated picture. Some districts like Karelia were settled simultaneously from several sides, while others like the upper Volga, at first lightly settled, were subject to new and more intensive settlement at a later date. By the end of the third millennium, this

process was largely completed except for the northernmost areas along the White Sea.

Apart from many later changes, Bryusov sees the transition period between the third and second millennium developing the basis for tribal agglomerations of much later periods, though he does not equate these agglomerations with historical boundaries. He stresses the continuity of the early ethnic groups with those with which later archaeological data must deal, though he is far from the extreme autochthonism of Marr and his followers.

The end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium in the north was characterized by increasing settlement of free areas. Isolated groups in those regions were assimilated by the newcomers. Space was ample and there is no archaeological evidence for the ousting of any important group by another as happened in the south. These northern cultures were clearly differentiated right down to the introduction of metalworking at the beginning of the first millennium.

To the south, at the close of the third or beginning of the second millennium, the Volga-Oka basin was invaded by people of the easily distinguished Fatianov culture from the central Dnieper area, displacing the earlier "dimple" ware folk of the older Volga-Oka tribes. Further south still, the period was characterized by the expansion of the Trypillian peoples and the widespread domestication of the horse. In the first centuries of the second millennium, the Trypillian tribes came into conflict with the eastern "catacomb" ware people, who had strong affiliations with the Caucasus metal centers. The latter seem to have emerged victorious, for the Trypillians abruptly abandoned their settlements on the left (east) bank of the Dnieper. The western tribes from the central Dnieper and from the Volinsk megalithic cultures (with Beaker affiliations?) seized the opportunity and attacked the Trypillians. These then disappeared from the archaeological arena.

Toward the middle of the second millennium, the main metallurgical center shifted from the Caucasus to the Urals and the leading position of the southern tribes was lost to the eastern groups. These eastern tribes are said to form the elements of the later Cimmerian culture.

In the Volga-Oka basin, the Fatianov invaders pressed eastward during the first half of the second millennium, but they were finally assimilated by surrounding peoples. By the first millennium, no trace of the Fatianov culture remains and it is replaced in the area by the Diakov culture. This shows connections, not with its immediate predecessor, but with a variant of the older Volga-Oka "dimple" ware culture.

In the far north, the second half of the second millennium saw a continuation of the process of tribal segmentation, but the rate of change within the groups slowed down and stagnated. Forms of earlier times were perpetuated with little change right down to the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Metalworking never assumed an important role. From the first millennium B.C. to the first millennium A.D. there is almost a blank in knowledge of events in the Karelia,

Archangel and Murmansk areas. With the exception of a few isolated sites, the history of this period remains to be worked out.

Bryusov's valuable synthesis is a guide to much of the neolithic episode in European Russia. Unfortunately, there are serious gaps which further field investigation must fill in. The author regrettably does not devote enough attention to the economy of the various archaeological cultures and, though presentation of small finds from the various sites and the distribution maps are good, there is a very inadequate depiction of site plans, burials, and similar large-scale remains. There are a few photographs of poor quality. In spite of these weaknesses, however, the text is an important contribution to the field.

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FOUILLES EXÉCUTÉES À MALLIA. Exploration des maisons et quartiers d'habitation (1921-1948). Première fascicule, by *Pierre Demargne* and *Hubert Gallet de Santerre*, with the collaboration of *Marthe Oulié*, *Hermine de Saussure*, *Jean Charbonneaux* and *Charles Picard*. (École française d'Athènes. Études crétoises, Tome IX.) Pp. xi + 112, figs. 7, pls. 67, frontispiece. Paris, Geuthner, 1953. 4400 frs.

In this seventh fascicule on the French excavations at Mallia is presented the first report on the town and the domestic architecture outside of the palace. It is especially welcome since that phase of Minoan architecture, probably because it is not so spectacular as the palaces, has received little attention, and full reports on houses are not too abundant. What is especially interesting here is that the excavators have been able, through a study of surface indications, to plot with some accuracy the whole extent of the Minoan town, about a kilometer in length and some 800 meters in width, certainly one of the largest towns we know. That villas existed beyond the area of concentrated building seems established; cemeteries, too, lay outside the town. Two suitable ports have been located; so has a main road that runs from the palace to the western one of these. To the south, on the present hill of Prophet Elias, was a sacred place of MM I date, probably one of many mountain peak sanctuaries and here perhaps sacred to the Mother of the Mountains. That the hill served also as a watchtower seems likely and brings into question again the systems of Minoan fortifications, so long denied but now beginning to appear here and there in Crete. Thus the major features of a Minoan town are drawn.

To establish the characteristics in detail, excavations in the various residential quarters have been going on since 1928, parallel to the major effort in the palace. Reports of finds in five separate and rather widely scattered areas are here included. A large "Villa" was

dug in 1928-29 near the eastern of the two harbors, but in the multiplicity of rooms that seem to be largely basements only major features such as a large interior court and storage rooms, very similar to those of a palace, could be distinguished. The large living rooms were most likely on the upper floor and the whole gives the impression of a very rich dwelling of the MM I period, but it actually adds little to our still very scant knowledge of domestic architecture of this early period. Building B is of the same original date, but its plan has proved even less comprehensible, and it is suggested that it may not have been a house at all, but may have had funerary uses; this supposition is not well supported by the report and the structure looks like a house, not too well excavated or documented.

Quarter Γ illustrates somewhat better the characteristics of houses of the First Palace period: not very carefully built, many rooms of small size but some of larger size, several stairways to the second story, which must have contained the most important rooms, hearths, built-in basins or troughs, even a fixed central hearth which is ascribed to the first Creto-Anatolian civilization and which disappears during MM I. Yet the complexes of rooms are still difficult to separate into houses.

With the houses of Quarter Δ and House Za we come to a consideration of the domestic architecture of the Second Palace period, MM III-LM I, and it is immediately clear that a new style of architecture, that of Knossos, has strongly influenced Mallia. Quarter Δ, cut up by streets into several houses or complexes of houses, gives the best idea of a Minoan city; House Δa is the finest house in the quarter and has been restored as a museum. Here one meets the fully developed Minoan "megaron," the most characteristic feature of Cretan domestic architecture of the late period, an excellent example of which occurs again in House Za. House Δβ seems certainly not to be all one house, more likely two or even three in a block. Perhaps House Za was even richer and more developed in plan than Δa, certainly the division into living and service quarters is more complete here than in any other house. Dug in 1946-48, the details of this house have been more carefully observed and presented, and it remains the best house thus far published from Mallia.

With the exception, then, of Houses Δa and Za of the second period, for both of which restored plans have been given, the evidence from the houses presented here is very incomplete. It is still to be hoped that in the large area available the excavators will be able to find some more satisfactory houses of the first period. It is to be expected that the houses presented in the future will have actual-state and restored plans of the quality of those given here for Houses Δa and Za, for the other plans in this book are not so good as might be expected and have often been over-reduced so that the lines have merged and become blurred. We should also suggest that if future volumes are to be illustrated in collotype, it would be well to take exterior photographs under such weather conditions as would avoid the deep shadows which become com-

pletely black in this process. The photographing of objects, too, requires more professional care as to backgrounds, shadows, composition. Wherever possible, it is a desirable convention to orient plans with north at the top; here there is no uniformity at all.

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DIE GLEICHNISSE HOMERS UND DIE BILDKUNST SEINER ZEIT, by Roland Hampe. Pp. 47, pls. 23. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 1952. D.M. 12.00.

In this delightful little book Hampe examines the common notion that Homer's similes are "naturalistic," whereas geometric art is "abstract," and finds it baseless. The style of the similes is the reverse of "naturalistic." They contain few details, but those chosen set memory and imagination to work. Consequently, a man familiar with the *Iliad*, if he happens to be on a ship caught by a sudden storm off Ikaria, may fancy that he has read every detail of that very storm in one of Homer's similes, but when, some time later, he consults the text, he will be astounded to find, instead of the vivid scene he remembers, three meagre lines (*Iliad*, 2.144-146). Similarly the painter of the *prothesis* on the great geometric grave-amphora in Athens (804) selects only meaningful details, such, for example, as the dead man's shroud, the dresses of the two hired mourners, the weapons of the men arriving for the *ekphora*, and does not even clothe the throng of mourning women. By concentrating on essentials, he is able to suggest in one picture the whole course of the funeral rites: the laying out, the night-long lament with its accompanying gestures, the carrying out of the body for burial in the morning.

In its functions, however, the simile of the storm off Ikaria goes beyond the stage of art represented by the *prothesis* scene. It is not meant merely to conjure up a picture in the mind of the hearer but to suggest, in far fewer words and more potently than consecutive narrative could, the tumult caused by Agamemnon's speech. It is immediately followed by the simile of the cornfield swept by the west wind, which gives the next stage in the crowd's response: differences of opinion and struggles are at an end, and all stream in one direction, to the ships. This interpretation of the two similes, it should be noted, is not original with Hampe, who, on page 5, disclaims any intention of giving a new interpretation of Homer, but was made by an ancient commentator (see schol. on *Iliad*, 2.147), as was also his further observation that the storm simile gives the reason why the Greek chiefs fail to intervene at this point, as had been agreed at the council meeting (2.75ff.). The crowd's response, in its suddenness and violence, was as irresistible as the storm, and it took a god's intervention to restore order (2.155ff.; cf. schol. on 144). Hampe assembles a number of other instances in the *Iliad* of a simile used in place

of narrative or to suggest more than is stated. He hazards the guess that such similes may be an eighth-century innovation. For about the middle of this century an analogous innovation appears in geometric art. Painters, in their desire to depict violent or wide-ranging action, burst the bonds of symmetry and horizontality. Hampe gives two examples, a hunting scene on an Attic jug in Boston (25.42; Fairbanks, pl. 23, 269b) and a scene on the neck of a recently acquired Attic jug in Munich, which he identifies as the shipwreck of Odysseus after the slaughter of the cattle of the Sun. He naturally uses our *Odyssey* text in making the identification and, indeed, finds that the painting agrees fairly closely with it, but is careful not to claim this as evidence for the existence of our *Odyssey* in the mid-eighth century. The jug has since been published by Lullies in the *MJb* 3-4 (1952-1953) 335-336, fig. 1; he gives a new photograph and the inventory number 8696. Another early representation of a shipwreck has been found on Ischia (RM 60-61 [1953-54] 46ff., pls. 14-16, 1).

Fifteen other works of art are discussed by Hampe—vases, bronzes, fibulae, the terracotta shield from Tiryns with Achilles and Penthesilea, and a gold band with lions and deer in relief. He publishes at least one illustration of each object discussed; of the Attic amphora with the *prothesis* scene he gives three illustrations, of the Boston jug two, of the Munich jug eight, of the bronze deer found by the Germans in Samos two (both of which include the antler). Most of these works are geometric. The others are added to show the persistence of geometric qualities and procedures. The unnaturally thin neck of the late archaic Samos deer, for example, suggests the delicacy and fragility of the animal. The economy of means that characterizes Homer's similes and the geometric *prothesis* scene still prevails in fifth-century vase-painting; witness the cup by the Codrus painter with Aigeus consulting Themis (Beazley, *ARV*, 739, 5), where a column and part of an entablature suffice to tell us that Aigeus is outside the temple but Themis is in the adyton. Quite apart from the interest of various similarities and analogies to Homeric poetry noted by Hampe, these pages are excellent as an introduction to early Greek art. The book was originally a lecture, and its lucid exposition of how the artist conveys his meaning can be understood by anyone familiar with Homer, the Trojan Cycle, and the Herakles and Theseus legends. A translation would, I think, prove useful in college teaching.

I noted the following oversights and misprints. P. 8, line 16: for 3, 499ff. read 5, 499ff. P. 8, line 17: Saatfeld. The season *opora* suggests rather orchard and vineyard. P. 9, fourth line from bottom: for 2, 42-143 read 2, 142-143. P. 11, line 9: Patroklos Tod. Patroklos, at this point in the poem, is leading the Myrmidons into battle. P. 14, lines 13-15: it is the gleam of bronze (*i.e.*, of the weapons of the Greeks) that is compared to a forest fire. P. 17, paragraph 3, line 8: for 4, 768ff. read 5, 768ff. Last line of p. 17: Apollo does not alight on Ida, but comes down from it. P. 18, line 5f.: in *Iliad* 13, 63f., *πέρης* goes with *ἀρβίς*, and *πρόϊοιο* with *διώκειν*. P. 18, line 9; in *Iliad*

21, 252, μέλας goes with αἵετοῦ, not with θρηνητῆρος. P. 18, 13th and 12th lines from bottom: it was Menelaos and Meriones that carried the body of Patroklos, while the two Ajaxes held off pursuers. P. 18, 5th line from bottom: *for* oder *read* und. P. 24, line 13: *for* was *read* war. P. 25, lines 20-21: see Leaf on *Iliad* 18, 604 ff. P. 28, end of first paragraph: against the identification of the ships described by Homer with geometric warships see G. S. Kirk, *BSA* 44 (1949) 95, note 8, and p. 140f. P. 28, lines 20-21: that shipwrecks occurred in the *Nostoi* is stated by Proklos. P. 28, 6th line from bottom: *for* 5, 16 *read* 4, 559-560. (*N.B.* In 5, 16-17, it is Athena who says it, not Proteus.) P. 29, 5th line from bottom: add the reference 7, 252 (*for* ἀγκῆς ἐλόν). P. 34, line 6ff.: it might have been noted that "horned" hinds are frequently mentioned by the poets: see Sophocles, *frag.* 89, Jebb-Pearson, and the passages there cited. P. 41, note 3, line 1: not bridges, but dikes. P. 42, 14th line from bottom: *for* 263 *read* 265. P. 45, note 23, line 2: *for* Abb. 25 *read* Abb. 21. Fig. 18b has been omitted from the list of illustrations. In the caption of this figure, *for* Athen *read* London.

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

GREEK PORTRAITS. A STUDY OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT, by Gisela M. A. Richter. Collection Latomus, Vol. XX. Pp. 55, figs. 36 on 10 plates. Latomus, Revue d'Études Latines, Berchem-Bruxelles, 1955. 80 Belgian francs.

This essay is based on the James Bryce Memorial lecture, given by the author in June 1954 at Oxford. Short footnotes have been added and the newest literature was used, particularly B. M. Felletti Maj, *I Ritratti*, Museo Nazionale Romano 1953, and Vagn Poulsen, *Les Portraits grecs* (reviewed *AJA* 59 [1955] 254f.). The reviewer discussed many problems of Greek portraiture with Miss Richter, before she left New York to settle in Rome. She also read my manuscript of a book on portraits of outstanding Greeks which was not printed, but much of which has been used in revised form as cornerstones for dating other sculptures in my *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1955). It is, therefore, not surprising that we agree in all main facts.

For the author of the standard book on *The Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks* (revised edition 1950) it is self-evident that she does a masterly job in depicting the development of portraiture from archaic conventionalism to classical idealism and then to Hellenistic rationalism. She wisely selects only a few outstanding and approximately dated specimens, and deduces from them the chief characteristics of their time, always keeping in mind the special problems of portraiture. Her five chapters deal in historical sequence with (I) the first half, (II) the second half of the fifth century B.C., (III) the fourth century, (IV) the Hel-

lenistic period 320-100 B.C., and (V) the first century B.C. and later.

The author's profound knowledge of human anatomy on which her celebrated book *Kouroi* is based leads to what I believe to be the final solution of the problem of the portrait of Themistokles, found in Ostia near the theater (pp. 16ff. figs. 1-2). The same form of the ear and other details agreeing with the Aristogeiton by Kritios and Nesiotes (figs. 3-4) prove the Themistokles to be an exact copy of an original created in the period about 460 B.C. (cf. also the reviewer in *AJA* 58 [1954] 282ff.). In the Periclean age the portrait of Perikles by Kresilas lives in the same serene atmosphere as the figures on the Parthenon frieze. The same is true for the classical portrait of Homer, recognized by R. and F. Boehrer (Homer, pls. Iff.) and for the Anakreon in Copenhagen (V. Poulsen, *op.cit.*, pp. 25ff., no. 1, pls. I-III). For the fourth century the statues in the theater of Dionysos, set up by Lykourgos in 340-330, are chosen as good typical and dated examples (pp. 27ff.). The early Hellenistic period is represented by Demosthenes and the Epicureans (pp. 36ff., figs. 15-23; Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, pp. 54ff., figs. 158-166, 172-178). I agree with the author that the former reconstructions first suggested by Lippold in his *Porträtstatuen*, pp. 78ff., now removed from the Metrodorus in Copenhagen (Poulsen, *op.cit.*, no. 36), were satisfactory and that the Epikouros also ought to be reconstructed (p. 37 and p. 38, note 2). Miss Richter rightly recognizes Hermarchos, not Epikouros in the statuette from Ostia (figs. 21-22). The three Epicureans have often been confused in earlier literature.

For the late Hellenistic period the agreement between the author and the reviewer is less perfect. This is particularly so in the case of the Laocoon (p. 41, fig. 26; see also her *Three Critical Periods of Greek Sculpture*, "Date of the Laocoon," pp. 66ff.). She rejects the date 25 B.C. which to my knowledge nobody has given to the group, but which is the date of the priesthood of Athenodoros and Agesandros who are probably the same persons as the sculptors and received this honor in their old age. Thus the date around 50 B.C. is perfectly acceptable. But in neither case would the group be "contemporary" with the Ara Pacis (13-9 B.C.), and a late Rhodian work on the island on which the baroque style lasted longer than in Pergamon could well be quite different from the altar which is in the tradition of Attic classicism (see Bieber, *op.cit.*, p. 154, figs. 530-33, pp. 146 and 155). Hafner (*Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik* [1954] 20ff., pls. 6-9, R 1-19) has assembled a number of portrait heads of the first century B.C., which he calls the Athenodoros group, because they resemble the heads of the sons of Laocoon. This series of portraits thus supports the dating of the Laocoon group into the middle of the first century B.C.

The end of the Hellenistic period can be defined in different ways. For Miss Richter it is 100, for the reviewer 30 B.C., the time of Augustus, when the Graeco-Roman art begins. Before that period Roman-Italian portraits such as her figs. 35-36 do not seem to me a

direct continuation of the realism of heads like the Euthydemus of Bactria (p. 41, figs. 31-32) which I saw in 1952 in the Villa Albani. The new lease of life which, as the author rightly says (p. 43), Greek art was given by the Romans came from the aristocratic classes and, later, from the emperors. This problem of the relation between Greek and Roman art will certainly receive new light from her forthcoming book *Ancient Italy*. In this she also promises to discuss the problems of the Brutus (p. 44 fig. 33), one of the finest and most puzzling portraits in the Roman museums.

The 36 illustrations are well chosen and well reproduced. Newly published are the rather battered heads of Demosthenes, Sophokles, and Homer from the Alden Sampson Collection of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (figs. 27-30). An index of portraits and artists and a list of the illustrations with their sources are added.

MARGARETE BIEBER

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CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM. Germany fascicule 10, Heidelberg, University, fascicule 1, by Konrad Schauenburg. Pp. 74, pls. 44. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1954. D.M. 45.00.

The collection of vases in the University of Heidelberg does not invite comparison with those in public museums, but it is an excellent teaching collection, built up over the years thanks to the efforts of Friedrich von Duhn, aided by gifts from P. Gardner, Hartwig, Rubensohn, and Zahn. The Attic red-figure in Heidelberg has been published in a sumptuous catalogue by Kraiker. His notes on Corinthian and early Attic have been incorporated in this fascicule, which contains East Greek, Laconian, Corinthian, Boeotian, proto-Attic, and Attic black-figure. The preface does not make it clear how complete these sections are. Attic black-figure is most unfortunately divided (the name-piece of the Heidelberg Painter is omitted), with much to be taken up in a subsequent fascicule. The order of fabrics and their choice seem to be somewhat arbitrary in this fascicule. What, one wonders, will the second instalment bring? Helladic and Minoan? Geometric? More Attic black-figure? Italiote? Etruscan? Cypriot? If it does, how can these sections possibly be arranged in a sensible sequence? These are questions which a responsible committee for the *CVA* should ask itself before embarking on publication. Other questions, voiced repeatedly in this *Journal*, concern the omission of rubrics and the stapling of the text.

Schaenburg's descriptions are careful and factual. The bibliographies at the headings of each section are useful. The list of *comparanda* is somewhat richer than in other recent fascicules of the *CVA* and is proof of the author's familiarity with other collections and the literature. The illustrations are good, but the photography could easily have been improved, if polarized light had been used. The high lights are particularly disturbing in the plates devoted to Attic black-figure. The scale in which the Leica photographs by

Wagner have been reproduced is at times misleading. Surely a complete vase merits a larger illustration than a small fragment, yet again and again big vases and small fragments are illustrated side by side, with the same amount of space allotted to each of them on the plate.

The text prompts the following notes and comments. On East Greek vases (pls. 1-4) see also Cook, *CVA* British Museum fasc. 8 (reviewed *AJA* 59 [1955] 248), which came out at the same time as this fascicule. To the bibliography add P. B. Schmidt in *Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Materiali i Issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR* 25 (1952) 223ff. Pl. 20, 1-4, and 8: to the list of "Andrian" alabastra add Cassel T 503, Laon, and a third in the Paris market. Pl. 26, 8: the lekane *CVA* Matsch pl. 21, 3, 5-6 is now in the collection of El Conde de Lagunillas in Havana. To Schauenburg's supplement of Mrs. Ure's list may be added the following lekanai: Paris market (I, running man; A-B, palmette-lotus); New York X. 248. 7 (I, lion; A-B, lotus buds); Paris market (I, bird; A-B, lotus); Paris market (I, whirligig; A-B, palmette-lotus; ivy); New York market (I, circles; A-B, panthers, swan, sirens, swan); Warsaw, Binenthal (*CVA*, pl. 1, 1); Paris market (*Vente Drouot* 26-27 November 1934, pl. 2, no. 109); once Chaource, Chandon de Briailles (phot. Giraudon 31817; I, bull); Laon "1023" (*Vente Drouot, Coll. M. E.*, 2-4 Juin 1904, no. 128); once Rostock, Witte (*Auktion Rudolph Lepke*, 12 November 1930, pl. 6, no. 523). Pl. 33, 7: for amphora read neck-amphora. The woman has mounted a chariot and is holding the reins; the man need not be Herakles, but could be Iolaos. Pl. 33, 9: for amphora read panel-amphora. The subject is probably the judgment of Paris, the curved line being part of Hermes's caduceus. Pl. 33, 10: for amphora read neck-amphora. The winged figure is probably Helios. Pl. 34, 3: the shape is a conical support, perhaps of a lebes gamikos. Pl. 34, 7-9: for amphora read neck-amphora. Exekian. Pl. 34, 11: wrongly poised. Pl. 34, 12: for amphora read neck-amphora. Pl. 34, 13: likewise from a neck-amphora. Pl. 35, 4-5: for Löschke read Loeschcke. Pl. 36, 1-4: on the subject see also *AJA* 58 (1954) 64 and *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 1-12. Pl. 37, 1: to the bibliography add Beazley, *ARV*, 150, 37. Pl. 37, 2: dated too late. Pl. 37, 5: from a neck-amphora. Pl. 37, 6: wrongly poised. Pl. 37, 7: from a neck-amphora. Pl. 37, 8: from a neck-amphora. Pl. 37, 9: from an oinochoe. Pl. 38, 3: the shield device may have been a pegasus. Pl. 38, 7: the right arm of the central Athena is preserved. Pl. 39, 2: dated too late, as already pointed out in *AJA* 54 (1950) 283. Pl. 39, 3: there are traces of the table legs. Pl. 40, 5: from an olpe. Pl. 40, 6: for the style compare *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 382-384. Pl. 40, 9: from a column-krater. Pl. 40, 11: from the rim of a volute krater. Pl. 40, 13: the legs in front of Hermes must belong to Herakles. Pl. 41, 5-6: what is the profile of this vase? Pl. 42, 7: the youth is ladling from a psykter. Pl. 42, 9: from a tripod-kothon. P. 74: for Antimenes read Antimenes Painter.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ATTIC VASE PAINTINGS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON: Part II, Text Nos. 66-113, by J. D. Beazley. Text, pp. 103 + viii, with 16 supplementary plates. Plates, 34. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1954. \$20.00.

These are famous vases. The reader will not look to this eagerly anticipated publication for unknown or hitherto unpublished material. Of the 49 pieces presented only two are not included in *ARV* and only a few have not already been to some extent pictured. Many indeed were memorably described by Beazley himself in *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* as long ago as 1918, and some have long been standard illustrations of various aspects of the vase-painter's art, of Greek mythology, and of Greek athletics.

The full and fresh publication provided here, on the same splendid scale as in Part I, does complete justice to these distinguished old friends. But it does far more than that. In his commentary, Sir John Beazley has provided a chronological framework that helps the student to follow closely on the changes and developments in the style of a given artist, as well as to trace the general history of the red-figure style from the earliest pieces shown here, of about 520-510 B.C., down to the time of the Peloponnesian War. It is, however, on the subjects and the persons seen on these vases that the commentary might be regarded as most precious. Since there are no indices—these presumably will appear in the final instalment, Part III—it may be useful to note here some of the mythological and other special subjects which are treated, often with lists of examples both Attic and other and with a history of the scene or motive.

Achilles and Memnon, under No. 70
Anacreon and his companions (men disguised as women), under No. 99
Aphrodite (?) rising, under No. 100
Archer testing arrow, under No. 76
Athena, bare-headed, under No. 89
Danae, under No. 69
Death of Actaeon, under Nos. 94 and 110
Death of Orpheus, under No. 107
Diomed and Aeneas, under No. 70
Elpenor, under No. 111
Eos and Tithonos, under No. 83
Gigantomachy with maenads and satyrs, under No. 106
Goatskin hats, under No. 94
Hephaistos and Thetis, under No. 82
Pan pursuing a goat-herd, under No. 94
Pentheus, under No. 66
Poseidon and Amynone, under No. 111
Satyrs attacking a sleeping maenad, under No. 113
Satyr-biga, under No. 106
Stephanai ornamented with winged creatures, under No. 106
Theseus and the bull, under No. 69
Wedding of Menelaos and Helen, under No. 90
Zeus pursuing a woman (Thetis?), under No. 91

Zeus and Ganymede, under No. 95

This list could be greatly extended, but may serve to suggest the width of interest which the text provides; and other subjects such as athletic contests, departure or arrival scenes, komoi, symposia or the thiasos, which may at first sight seem general or usual, here in each case become personal and precise. There are also many other special discussions of particular interest. We are reminded, for instance, of the distinction to be made between vase-inscriptions naming the person depicted and kalos-names; see the account of the athletes represented on the psykter by Phintias (no. 67; pp. 4-5), and the identification of the instructor, Phayllos, shown there, with the Crotonian ship-captain of Salamis. We are also cautioned that many scenes and personages cannot be certainly identified; for example, the possible confusions between Eos and Tithonos and Eos and Kephalos (pp. 37-38). Where so much is said certainly, cautions carry special weight.

For the study of painting styles, the most spectacular series is that associated with the Panaitios Painter, in all eleven cups, two (Nos. 72 and 73) listed as Proto-Panaitian but No. 73 "possibly a very early work by the painter himself." There follow six cups assigned to the painter (Nos. 74-79), the first four being early work of about 500 B.C., No. 78 somewhat later, and No. 79 assigned to the decade 490-480 B.C. No. 79 bis, a cup in his late manner, is also included, and then come two cups by Onesimos (Nos. 80, 81; ca. 485-480 B.C.) who, we are reminded, "continues the style of the Panaitios Painter in a less forcible and more graceful form; unless indeed Onesimos is the Panaitios Painter himself in a late phase." Another notable series is that of the Pan Painter: six vases in all (Nos. 93-98): a fragment of an early work, probably a volute krater, dated at about 480 B.C. (93); the name piece (94), of about 470 B.C.; and four other lesser but delightful pieces, one a Nolan amphora depicting Zeus and Ganymede (95) of about the same date, and the three others assigned to the decade 470-460 B.C.

Along with style and subject goes the discussion of vase-shapes. Many readers will recall that Beazley in an obituary notice on the late Dr. Caskey (*The Times*, June 14, 1944) stressed particularly Caskey's interest in vase shapes and remarked of his *Geometry* that "while the pictures on vases had been examined with great care, the investigation of the shapes had lagged behind, and the 200 accurate measured drawings were a boon to archaeologists." Many of Caskey's line drawings ornament the text here, and several shapes receive detailed treatment. A short list:

Acro-cup, p. 67.
Bell-krater with lugs, p. 50.
Hydria, pp. 9-10, 13.
Nolan amphora, elaborate variant, pp. 39-40.
Psyktter types, pp. 6-9.
Volute krater, p. 80.

There are also, as might be expected, a number of additions to the lists of attributed vases given in *ARV*, and some revisions. The Addenda to Part I conveniently provide the *ARV* and other later references to the vases published there.

As for the plates, the portfolio format, however inconvenient it may sometimes seem, is fully justified by the opportunity it provides of presenting the shape of a vase and its figured decoration side by side and at a large scale. One might wish, however, that the approximate scale used for each illustration, or at least a statement as to those given at actual size, might somewhere have been indicated, possibly in the table of contents. Where the same vase is pictured at more than one scale it is inconvenient not to have a plain statement, even though the measurements given will enable the student to figure out the approximate scale at need. The author has made a fine tribute in his preface to the patience and skill both of the artist chiefly responsible for the drawings reproduced, Miss Suzanne E. Chapman, and also of the photographer, Mr. Edward Moore. It seems strange, however, that there is no indication in the table of contents as to the authorship of each picture. This comment could seem curious, since generally there is little difficulty in distinguishing between the work of the artist and that of the photographer, but in this publication each has striven to emulate the other, to an extent that in pictures of details one may need to examine the edges of the picture carefully, or rely on indirect evidence, in order to determine whether the illustration is from a drawing or from a photograph.

No one who admires the clear crisp outlines of the vase-shapes published here can fail to appreciate what recent developments in photographic technique have done, along with experience and devotion, to give us true profile photographs. But this technique which eliminates nearly all high lights and produces a picture in very sharp contrast has definite disadvantages. The delicate gradations of dilute glaze drawing are for instance inevitably sacrificed. Attention is frequently called in the text to items such as inner drawing or thin drapery folds which do not show in the photograph. This sacrifice might seem unnecessary in close views where the shape of the vase is not being recorded. An example is the Lycaon Painter's bell-krater with the death of Actaeon (No. 110, pl. LXII). Two splendid profile views of the vase are given and also a near view of the main scene. Here (p. 83) "Actaeon is represented as partly transformed into a stag: not only has he antlers and animal ears, but his forehead, nose and cheeks are covered with fur—rendered by brown stippling which is omitted in the old drawing and does not come out properly in the photograph." Surely this last is a pity, for what we have lost is not some conventional rendering but a part of the story. Most students would, we think, have settled for a few carefully disposed high lights in return for the dramatic detail.

These comments on the illustrations would be simply captious were it not that the scale and quality of the plates are such that they will be the standard by which other publications of Attic red-figure will be judged for many years to come. Possibly therefore one might invite the few photographers who have achieved complete success in this extremely difficult field now to relax a little, and not to drain the warmth and color

from their pictures except where this is essential to the end in view, as it is in photographing a vase for its shape. And perhaps we may hope that in Part III Mr. Moore will give us some profile photographs of cups, to set a new standard for this shape as he has done here for so many large vase forms.

A few comments on details. Pp. 6-9, No. 67. A list of psykters, black-figured, red-figured and plain black, is conveniently divided into Class A, without ears, Class B, with ears, or string-holes, and Class C, unspecified fragments. It is pointed out that the class with string-holes, B, commonly is made to take a lid whereas in Class A the rim has no such provision. Was the distinction perhaps a practical one based on different types of use? Psykter lids usually fit solidly down over a flange and could provide a reasonable precaution against spilling, when the vase, suspended by strings through the ears, was carried about under the rather precarious conditions of a drinking party. On the exterior of a cup in Berlin (Inv. 3251: ARV, 80, 5, Chelis group) one of the participants at such a party is carrying a psykter, swinging it by the strings. In the excitement he has, however, forgotten to put on the lid; at least none is represented and perhaps it is not too fanciful to imagine that the smears of dilute glaze on the side of the pot indicate the wine that is spilling over. Earless psykters (Class A), meant less to be carried about than to stand solidly in the cooling vessel, perhaps had no great need for the protection of a lid. P. 12, No. 69. To the list of personages who indicate profound grief by the gesture of holding the nose, add the old man on a black-figured fragment from a large open vase of the second quarter of the sixth century, Agora Inv. P 18567. P. 18, No. 70. To the list of red-figure pictures of Achilles and Memnon, add now the cup from the Athenian Agora signed by Gorgos as potter, Inv. P 24113, *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 64-66 and pl. 30. P. 30, No. 78. In the description of Face A, the pair of halteres, described as hanging by a cord at the extreme left of the picture, belongs rather to Face B. P. 40, No. 86. Some similarities in the writing of inscriptions, on vases attributed to different painters, are noted here, and it is remarked that "These correspondences in the manner of writing may provide a further indication that the painters at one time worked in the same place." This is a field which has as yet been little explored. In the drawing of No. 86 the letter forms can be plainly seen, but in other cases, for instance in the photographs of the Providence Painter's lekythoi, Nos. 87-90, this is not always the case. Since even the best of epigraphical fonts cannot show differences which might be described as characteristics of handwriting, carefully drawn facsimiles would seem a first step toward the study of possible associations. One might wish that such facsimiles could become a recognized essential in the publication of inscribed vases. Pp. 66-67, No. 103. The unidentified goddess on the interior of the Penthesilea Painter's "Acrocup" might conceivably be Aphrodite. The flower-tipped sceptre would suit her, also the hairdress. Sir John notes the unusual shape of the pitcher in her hand. It is outside the canon of figured and black-

glazed oinochoai and should be simply an ordinary household jug, unglazed and of a sandy micaceous fabric common in Athens for pitchers, hydriai and cooking pots throughout Greek times. The artist has not shown the trefoil mouth, sometimes only slightly indicated on the jugs themselves, but he has given the shape away by the manner in which the handle slopes down from the wide mouth and by the bulbous and irregular form of the pitcher. For this shape and fabric, hand-built or cast, not wheel-thrown, compare the rare examples with polychrome decoration, Agora Inv. P 23856, P 23900, P 23907, P 23985 and London 98.2-27.1, published in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 76-84 and pls. 34-37. Why Aphrodite should be going thus casually to the fountain house one cannot say; but it may not be irrelevant that in later times representations of the goddess or of nymphs dressed in imitation of her are sometimes associated with formal fountain houses and do carry pitchers, as for example the statue of Venus Genetrix type from the Nymphaeum in the Athenian Agora, Inv. S 1654, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) pl. 19, a-b. In the list of red-figured Acrocups, the heavy deep-bowled shape of which this is an example, the reader will find included at the end of the list two pieces considerably later than the others listed, and in which solidity has given place to a light and metallic effect, namely the Boston Sparte cup (Boston 00.354; *ARV*, p. 884, 7) and the New York Eros in a triga (New York 06.1021.186, Richter and Hall, no. 172, pls. 167, 181). One is reminded, however, that "most Acrocups are black," and versions transitional between the earlier and the later figured shapes listed can be found in black examples, as for instance one from the purification pit on Rheneia (*Délos* XXI, pl. xlviii, no. 138). P. 69, No. 105. For the unusual phiale with horizontal lines perhaps meant to suggest ribbing, compare such pottery examples as Agora Inv. P 9274 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 343, fig. 26), black; and a pair from Olbia (*Otchet* [1913-1915] 44, figs. 65 and 66), the rim black, the ribbed bowl intentional red. Another example from the Agora, smaller and fragmentary, Inv. P 11049, also had red bowl and black rim. All these might reflect a metal original such as Apollo could have held.

Of all Sir John Beazley's illustrated studies in Attic red-figure this is the most generous. In more than 99 pages he sets before us nearly the whole sweep of fifth century vase-painting, and illuminates each picture not only with chronological and stylistic commentary and with exact details of Athenian dress and manners, but also with the full light of his knowledge of mythology, of literature and of history. The beginner in the field could well start with this book; and the student who remembers with some nostalgia a first reading of *Vases in America* will turn again and again to the new masterpiece for its precision, its completeness and its charm. Often a very small detail gives food for imagination and helps to make us at home in Athens, as when we read of the caps worn by the Panaitios Painter's archers (No. 76, p. 28), that "the material is the fur of leopard-cubs." But Athens is no limit to the scene set before us; the last

paragraphs of the book (pp. 98-99) characteristically enquire into the real subject of Titian's "Jupiter and Antiope" in the Louvre.

LUCY TALCOTT

ATHENS

THE FARWELL COLLECTION, by *Franklin P. Johnson* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association of America VI). Pp. viii + 76, figs. 90. Cambridge, Mass. 1953. \$4.15.

During 1944-45 Captain Byron Farwell happened to be stationed with his battalion at Cerignola, near Foggia, and, thinking it a good opportunity to carry out some archaeological excavation in the vicinity, opened up about twenty graves in the ancient necropolis of Ortona, some twelve miles distant. The first attack was made between February and April 1944 when he dug a few graves of which no records were kept, nor were the finds labeled in any way; on April 12-13 three more graves were opened and numbered I to III. When digging was resumed in January 1945, Captain Farwell, having forgotten meantime how many graves had previously been excavated, began the new series at X. Twelve graves (X-XXI) were excavated during the ensuing eight months, but apart from the tagging or labeling of finds to indicate from which grave they came and the taking of a number of photographs during the progress of the excavation no other records seem to have been kept. The bulk of the finds was shipped to America, including 209 pieces of pottery, which suffered a good deal in the course of the journey; seventeen items were presented to the National Museum in Washington, the remainder form the Farwell Collection.

Comment upon the conduct of the actual excavation is pointless, but we must at least be grateful to the excavator for entrusting the publication of his material to Professor Johnson who, with infinite care and patience, has succeeded in reconstituting most of the grave-groups in such a way that their general integrity may be relied on, and has given us as well an admirable study of a rather despised and neglected class of pottery.

It is now more than forty years since Mayer's classification of the native geometric wares of Southern Italy appeared in his *Apulien*; since then our knowledge of this field has been widened by the publication of material from various Apulian sites and by the work of the directors of the Bari and Taranto Museums, where so much of it is housed, as well as by Pryce's brief but valuable introduction to the relevant section of the British Museum *Corpus Vasorum* (Fasc. 7, IV Da). A full survey, however, of the whole range of this pottery is still an urgent need; in the meantime Johnson's work marks an important step forward, especially in regard to chronology, stylistic analysis and the study of shapes and patterns.

The Farwell vases are divided into three main groups: I. Hand-made, with decoration in matt paint (91); II. Wheel-made, with decoration in lustrous paint (106); III. Various Italiote wares (11). Those in the first two groups belong to the class known as Daunian, are regularly decorated with simple geometric designs in a dark matt color varying from brown to black and later with a rich red as well, and consist mainly of kraters, jugs, tall-handled bowls (*cyathi*), stemmed plates, and askoi. Their chronology remains a problem, the exact solution of which must await further scientific excavation and study, but it seems fairly clear that their manufacture continued to a date considerably later than was at first thought.

Using as criteria the technique (hand- or wheel-made), the shape-development and the presence or absence of red paint, Johnson arranges the graves in the following chronological order:

(i) XI (no red paint), II, III, XI.

(ii) XVI, XVIII, X.

(iii) I, XV (?), XXI, XIII, XIV, XX, XVII, XIX.

Group (i) would belong to Pryce's Orientalizing period (ca. 600-550), (ii) to the later sixth and fifth centuries, (iii) to the fourth century. Unfortunately the Farwell excavations shed little new light upon this rather vague chronology. The Daunian vases in Taranto from Minervino Murge among which Johnson finds two kraters (CVA, pl. 718, 1-3) parallel in decoration, though not in actual shape, to his krater XII, 1 were not, as he rightly surmises, from a single closed group; the red-figure from the same site is Apulian of the third quarter of the fourth century and comprises a bell-krater (seated Eros and woman with dish of offerings) and a skyphos (draped woman) of the characteristic minor style contemporary with the early work of the Darius group. There is as well a good deal of black glazed ware, either plain or ribbed, also of the fourth century, but it does not necessarily carry the Daunian vases with it, though it may suggest a date for them rather later than the sixth century B.C. It is interesting to note that the combination of krater with tall-handled bowl met with in Grave XII finds parallels from Castelluccio dei Sauri and Ascoli Satriano, but again not in a context which yields an absolute date.

In Group (ii) the bichrome style which is so characteristic of Daunian pottery is developed considerably further, continuing through the fifth century with an increasing decadence in the decoration, which is reduced to bands and patches. The Chicago askos (figs. 82-85) is a good example of the better bichrome style of the earlier fifth century.

With the third group we are on rather safer ground. Grave I contained an Apulian kantharos of the Xenon Group (figs. 71-72, where it is wrongly labeled as I, 18 instead of I, 8) which, as Johnson points out, can hardly be earlier than the first quarter of the century. Graves XIII and XXI both contained black stemless cups with impressed patterns. As parallels for these and for Z 40 we have, in addition to Miss Talcott's examples from the Agora (p. 58), some of the Attic cups listed by Mrs. Ure in *JHS* 64 (1944) 70ff., pls.

vi-vii (ca. 400-370 B.C.) and the South Italian ones noted by Mrs. Oakeshott in *JHS* 66 (1946) 125ff. (ca. 370-350 B.C.). Tombs I, XXI and XIII may then reasonably be dated to the first half of the fourth century. The first includes some wheel-made pottery, the last two have nothing else. It would therefore seem that Pryce's date for the appearance of the wheel is too late, and that we must put it at the end of the fifth century rather than the fourth. The remaining tombs of this group contain mostly wheel-made pottery, including both monochrome and banded wares of a kind regularly found in the fourth century, and many parallels are given for both shape and decoration.

All the pottery not ascribed to definite graves is also listed and discussed. It includes a fine series of jugs, trefoil oenochoi, tall-handled bowls and stemmed dishes, most of which belong to the second group mentioned above.

The book concludes with three appendixes—giving us notes on the graves excavated by Angelucci, and on the Daunian vases in Chicago University, including a typical late Canosan askos of the early third century, and, lastly, a discussion of the Apulian two-handled bowl bearing the famous inscription recording the prowess of Arkesilaos and acquired from the Signorelli sale in Rome in 1951. Detail photographs are a help towards the decipherment of the inscription. One could wish the whole had been given, together with a facsimile transcription, since that published by Kretschmer is obviously misleading in places, especially in the last word(s) which is now clearly seen to begin KAIΘOINA . . . though the final letters still remain obscure.

Professor Johnson deserves the warmest congratulations on what he has achieved in bringing order out of chaos. His clear analysis of the technique, shape, and decoration of these vases marks a notable advance in their study. The book itself is admirably printed, and the plates are excellent; marginal references to the corresponding illustrations would have greatly facilitated the careful study that the text deserves.

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GREEK COINS. A HISTORY OF METALLIC CURRENCY AND COINAGE DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS, by Charles Seltman. Second Edition. Pp. xxvi + 311, pls. 64, figs. 9, 4 maps. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1955. £2.10.0.

This new, revised edition of a standard work first published in 1933 serves two important purposes. Within the rigid restrictions on rewriting imposed by the necessity of following the paging and plates of the older edition, Dr. Seltman has introduced a number of his more recent views, particularly on the early developments of Greek coinage in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. He has also reaffirmed opinions which have been subjected to "attempted demolition"

(p. vii) in the last two decades, such as the attribution to economic policies of Pheidon of Argos of the initial coinage of Aegina (pp. vii, 34ff.; W. L. Brown, *NumChron* [1950] 177ff.; C. M. Kraay, *NumCirc* [1955] col. 169f.).

The second purpose of the new edition has already received extensive attention from Dr. Kraay in his discussion and from the writer of the note in the *Times Literary Supplement* (*NumCirc* [1955] col. 173). The first edition has long been "the only comprehensive, stimulating and entertaining survey of the subject" (Kraay), and therefore a necessary complement to Barclay V. Head's monumental *Historia Numorum*, the manual of Greek numismatics which arranges the entire field of Greek and Greek imperial coinage by states and principalities clockwise from Hispania around the Mediterranean world. The core of Dr. Seltman's work is a chronological study of the world of Greek coins, proceeding through the high points of Greek history as they reveal or are illustrated by the coinages of the major cities or larger political unities of a given period. Since the second great war, and even before, the first edition has been a scarce and expensive item in the second-hand book market, and this revised edition serves the second purpose of making a basic reference available in up-to-date form at a rational price.

The initial chapter, entitled "Currency and Money," the section in Chapter II on "Monetary Technique" (illustrated by two diagrams), the "Select Bibliography" reprinted from the original edition, the important bibliographic "Supplement," and the twenty-page revised Index all give evidence that what advertises itself as a "handbook" is prepared so as to please those engaged in detailed study of ancient numismatics and those mainly wishing a working background to the subject. The tone of the three rewritten chapters (II, III, and IV) and his own contributions in the Supplement to the Select Bibliography (pp. xxii-xxvi) remind us that Dr. Seltman has turned in the last twenty years somewhat more to the important tasks of relating Greek coins to other aspects of art and archaeology—vases, sculpture, gems, and "celature," as he terms the work of artists in the field of smaller metal objects such as silver rhytons and phialai, or medallion gold jewelry. For this reason the reprint of the sixty-four plates of the first edition reminds us, in the light of the comparisons cited by Dr. Seltman in text and notes alike, of the major, self-sufficient contribution of Greek coins to ancient aesthetics.

Dr. Seltman made no attempt to revise the "Key to Plates" (pp. 287-311) in the light of the liquidation of a number of major British private collections in the last generation. Coins from the collections listed on p. viii have turned up in or will appear in publication of the Boston Museum, the Gulbenkian, and the A. S. Dewing collections (to cite at random).

To Dr. Kraay's short list of misprints in the revised edition (*NumCirc* [1955] col. 170f.), the present reviewer would add only "Pennisi" for "Penisi" on p. xxiii, "Mattingly" for "Mattingley" on p. xxvi and "Sydenham" for "Sydinham," p. 251, note 2. In-

creased publishing costs have unfortunately removed the handsome gilt impression of the unique tetradrachm of Aetna from the center of the cover.

In respect to the Supplement to the Select Bibliography of the original edition, a review affords opportunity to add a selection of important writings which were omitted for various reasons, perhaps chiefly the publishers' restrictions, or which have appeared in the year since Dr. Seltman finished his work. The reviewer's own researches lean towards relation of numismatics to other branches of archaeology, and the selection made here must be viewed in this light. The classification adopted follows that instituted by Dr. Seltman in his original and revised editions. *NumLit*, *FastiA*, and (in spite of its disappointing organization) the Greek Report in Vol. I of *Congrès international de numismatique*, Paris, 6-11 July 1953, summarize the secondary references.

C. (i) ART: B. Ashmole, "The Relation between Coins and Sculpture," *Trans. Int. Num. Congress* (1936), London (1938) 17-22. J. Babelon, *Le Portrait dans l'antiquité d'après les monnaies*, Paris, 1942; revised edition, 1950. L. Breglia, "Correnti d'arte e riflessi di ambienti su monete greche," *Critica d'Arte* 5 (1940) 58-71. K. Kerényi and L. M. Lanckoronski, *Der Mythos der Hellenen in Meisterwerken der Münzkunst*, Leipzig, 1941. L. M. and M. Lanckoronski, *Das griechische Antlitz in Meisterwerken der Münzkunst*, Amsterdam, 1940. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage. The Aesthetics of Money from Greece to the Present Day*, London, 1955. L. Pennisi and G. E. Rizzo, *Siciliae Veteres Nummi*, Acireale, 1940.

(iii) HISTORY: T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford, 1948. L. Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque*, Paris, 1951 (and vols. I-X of the author's *Hellenica*).

(iv) HOARDS: S. P. Noe, "Hoard Evidence and its Importance," *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949) 235-242.

(vi) METROLOGY, etc.: E. J. Allin and W. P. Wallace, "Impurities in Euboean Monetary Silver," *ANSMusN* 6 (1954) 35-67. S. Casson, "The Technique of Greek Coin Dies," *Trans. Int. Num. Congress* (1936), London (1938) 40-52. C. Vermeule, *Ancient Dies and Coining Methods* (enlarged from *NumCirc* 1953-54) London, 1954.

D. (i) ITALY: P. Ebner, "Della Persephone sullo statere velino e del suo incisore," *RivNum* 51 (1949) 3-18. Ebner, "L'Evoluzione artistica e l'arte nei tipi monetali de Velia," *RivNum* 50 (1948) 71-83.

(ii) SICILY: J. H. Jongkees, "Le graveur Cimon à Messina," *RBNum* 100 (1954) 25-29. G. E. Rizzo, "Eukleidas," *BdA* 31 (1937) 329-353.

(iii) MACEDON AND THE ALEXANDER COINAGE: J. Desneaux, "Les tétradrachms d'Akanthos," *RBNum* 95 (1949) 5-122 (listed as a monograph by Dr. Seltman). J. M. F. May, "Macedonia and Illyria (217-167 B.C.)," *JRS* 36 (1946) 48-56.

(vii) ATTICA: S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HTHR* 30 (1937) 183-232. R. H. Randall, "The Erechtheum Workmen," *AJA* 57 (1953) 199-210.

(x) PONTUS, PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA: D. Magie, "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and

on Coins," *AlA* 57 (1953) 163-187. M. Thompson, "A Countermarked Hoard from Büyükçekmece," *ANSMusN* 6 (1954) 11-34.

(xiii) IONIA: Ch. Picard, "Percées tympanales ou niches de fronton?," *RA* 1949 (III) 19-39 (commentary on B. Trell, *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos*, New York, 1945). C. T. Seltman, "The Earliest Hoarded Coins," *NumCirc* (April 1955) cols. 167f. (supplement to *Greek Coins*, Chapter II).

(xiv) CARIA: A. M. Woodward, "Sparta and Asia Minor under the Roman Empire," *Studies Pres. to D. M. Robinson* II, 868-883.

(xviii) THE SELEUCID KINGS, ETC.: A. R. Bellinger, "The End of the Seleucids," *Trans. of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 38 (June 1949) 51-102. L. Lacroix, "Copies de statues sur les monnaies des Séleucides," *BCH* 73 (1949) 158-176. R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1935.

(xix) THE EAST: A. D. H. Bivar, "The Qunduz Treasure," *NumCirc* (May 1954) cols. 187-191 (numerous illustrations of unpublished Bactrian coins).

(xx) AFRICA: B. Emmons, "The Overstruck Coinage of Ptolemy I," *ANSMusN* 6 (1954) 69-84. E. S. G. Robinson, "A Hoard of Coins of the Lybians," *NumChron* (1953) 27-32.

(xxi) ROMAN REPUBLICAN IN RELATION TO GREEK COINS: C. A. Hersh, "Overstrikes as Evidence for the History of Roman Republican Coinage," *NumChron* (1953) 33-68.

The subtitle of *Greek Coins* reminds us that one branch of Greek numismatics is without a general handbook other than limited references in Head's *Historia Numorum*. Many recent studies, such as the *architectura numismatica* project of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, have reinforced Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner's demonstration of the historical and archaeological importance of Greek imperial coins. It is certainly time that Greek coins struck from the death of Cleopatra to the closing of the Alexandrine tetradrachm mint under Diocletian be presented in a general manual, one perhaps best modelled on the *Historia Numorum* system.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

OPUSCULA ROMANA. Vol. I. (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, Series in 4°, XVIII). Pp. 231, pls. and figs. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1954.

The task of reviewing a periodical is generally neither an easy nor a satisfying one. When it is a question of welcoming a new periodical of obvious merit, the task can be one of extreme pleasure. Such is certainly the case with the magnificent first volume of *Opuscula Romana*, the result of dividing the Athenian and Roman spheres heretofore served jointly by the seven volumes of *Opuscula Archaeologica* (1935-1952).

This first volume of *Opuscula Romana* is dedicated to Professor Axel Boëthius of Göteborg University and

the Swedish Institute in Rome, "*tredecim lustris feliciter peractis*." Prof. Boëthius has earned an honored place in international scholarship not only by his writings on Roman architecture and his administrative duties in Rome but through his reputation as the most kindly and unselfish of teachers. Those who have been students at the British School or the American Academy in Rome know that Prof. Boëthius' advice and guidance in a multitude of archaeological problems have always been freely available in a most unassuming manner.

The present reviewer proposes to discuss the six articles on subjects with which he is the most familiar. Mention of the other seven will indicate the diversity and high quality of the essays which fill this volume. Three pages at the end of the book provide a synopsis of all monographs and articles published by the Swedish Institute in Rome from 1932 to date. This list is confirmation that there will be no lessening of quality and diversity in further volumes of *Opuscula Romana*.

A. Andrén contributes "Scavo sull' Acropoli di Ardea. Rapporto preliminare" (p. 1-20). Two Renaissance articles follow: R. Billig, "Die Kirchenpläne (<al modo antico>) von Sebastiano Serlio" (pp. 21-38), and C. Callmer's "Flavio Biondo" (pp. 39-49), an outline of the Quattrocento historian and archaeologist's career. M. P. Nilsson publishes a lecture, "Roman and Greek Domestic Cult" (pp. 77-85), concerned with the Greek contributions and Roman qualities in the domestic cult as opposed to the state religion. J. Svennung's "Phaselus ille. Zum 4. Gedicht Catullus" (pp. 109-124) is followed by B. E. Thomasson's indexed and illustrated "Iscrizioni del Sepolcreto di Via Ostiense" (pp. 125-152). The volume is completed by Å. Åkerström's major contribution, "Untersuchungen über die figürlichen Terrakottafiguren aus Etrurien und Latium" (pp. 191-231), with about forty illustrations.

In "The Fortifications of Early Rome" (pp. 50-65), Einar Gjerstad summarizes his own and other previous investigations into the nature of the pre-Republican fortifications of the city. Since the so-called wall of Servius Tullius has proved to be of Republican date and to have been constructed after the Gallic invasion of 386 B.C., scholars have been divided as to whether there was a continuous city-wall in the Republican sense in the Regal period or whether the fortifications of Regal Rome were based on the strengthened rock fortifications of the principal hills, linked by *aggeres* where nature provided no steep falls of rock. These hills, according to exponents of the second theory, were supplemented by a continuous, large earth wall, the *agger* of Servius Tullius, in the early fifth century B.C. This wall was built across the table-land to the N.E., on the line of the later Republican *agger*.

Gjerstad demonstrates that Livy 2.10, the description of Porsenna's attack on Rome and the story of Horatius Cocles, is "worthless as an evidence for the fortification system of the Regal period" (p. 55). This account was influenced by the disposition of the city-wall and gates in the third century B.C., when the Horatius Cocles episode was fitted into its historical

frame. On the other hand, Livy's description of the defense of the Capitoline and the sack of the rest of the city after Allia indicates the Regal fortifications consisting of fortified citadels and protecting *aggeres* "had been comparatively unchanged until the time of the Gallic invasion" (p. 56).

Gjerstad decides that seventeen supposed sections of Archaic wall can only be, at most, parts of separate fortifications of the hills rather than evidence for a continuous *cappellaccio* and tufa city-wall of the Regal period. The fortifications of Rome prior to the post-Gallic constructions developed in successive stages and ultimately consisted of earth walls linking the principal hills. These stages corresponded with the habitation of the principal hills, expansion off the summits on to the table-land and into the areas between, and the creation of a linked system of fortifications after political union of the pre-urban villages and the surrounding areas into which they had expanded.

Two articles of a philological nature form an admirable complement to each other. In "Die Form der römischen Eigennamen bei Polybios" (pp. 66-76), Krister Hanell presents an analytical index of Roman names and the Greek forms under which they appear. He observes that the forms under which outstanding Romans are designated in the second century B.C. determine the use of *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* in the writings of Cicero and his contemporaries.

The corollary to this article is "La Dénomination chez Cicéron dans les lettres à Atticus" (pp. 153-159). H. Thylander continues his investigations into Roman names, their origins, and their uses (*Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*, Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae, Series in 8°, V, 1952), turning from the sepulchral inscriptions of the Ostia Portus to the uses of full and partial names in Cicero's most personally revealing writings. He demonstrates that the *tria nomina Romanorum* are rarely employed in the familiar language of Cicero's time, that two names are used with a greater variety of meanings than previously postulated, and that single names are used with the same mixture of intimacy, informality, and formality according to circumstances that they are in England and America today.

Prof. E. Sjöqvist's "Kaisareion. A Study in Architectural Iconography" (pp. 86-108) supplies certain conclusions in the realm of architectural history which have long been a major factor in studies of Roman painting, book illumination, metalwork, and gem cutting. He deals with the influence of Hellenistic Egyptian architectural forms on those of early imperial Rome. The *quadriporticus* plan, with or without a temple to create a *temenos* area, enters Rome in the periods of Julius Caesar and Augustus from Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly Alexandria, where Caesar began and Augustus finished a similar great Kaisareion complex to give expression to their continuations of the age-old Pharaonic and Ptolemaic ruler cult.

Sjöqvist proceeds from the Alexandria Kaisareion to the parallel of the Kaisareion at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which was begun about a year later and enlarged as late as A.D. 371, by the Emperor Valens.

The prototype in Ptolemaic Egypt can be found in a structure of the period of Ptolemy III (246-221 B.C.) at Hermopolis Magna and certainly in even older archetypes in Alexandria. The Caesareum unearthed by Italian archaeologists in Cyrene in the late 1920's, a structure at least of the time of Augustus, presents the best-preserved example of the temple and *quadriporticus* structures associated with the imperial ruler cult. This *quadriporticus* plan entered Rome with Caesar's first major public building, the *Saepta Julia*. The plan became Romanized in the Forum Iulium and was used for the Porticus Octaviae in the Campus Martius and the Porticus Liviae on the Oppius. It was monumentalized in the Templum Divi Claudii on the Coelian Hill and reached its fullest ideological expression in the Porticus Divorum of the Flavian ruler cult.

In "Ara Martis in Campo. Zur Frage der Bedeutung und des Umfanges des Campus Martius" (pp. 166-190), E. Welin concludes that the altar must have stood in the open space of the Campus Martius, north of the Stadium Domitiani and the Pantheon but south of the Mausoleum Augusti. The major part of his contribution is given to an explanation of ancient terminology for the Campus Martius area, the fact that buildings were still referred to as *ad campum Martium* or *in campo martio* long after the actual open space had shrunk to the area mentioned above.

A survey of portrait material from the Eastern Mediterranean in the late Republic and Empire, such as O. Vessberg's "Roman Portrait Art in Cyprus" (pp. 160-165), stresses the difference between this art and Roman portraiture as we are accustomed to define its chronology in the museums of Rome. Thus, the outstanding limestone head in the Cyprus Museum, published by Vessberg as Caligula (p. 162f., figs. 5-7), has been previously identified as a Ptolemaic dignitary of the third or second century B.C. (P. Dikaïos, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum* [1953] 88; cf. the "Caligula" and the head of a youth "end of fifth to early fourth century B.C.," also in the Cyprus Museum: Dikaïos, *FastiA* 4 [1949] no. 151, fig. 2). The conceptual differences between Greek and Roman portraiture under the Empire mean, for instance, that we may see the head of a man acquired by the Art Museum, Princeton, as a portrait from the Greek islands as late as the Hadrianic period. East Greek portraits frequently perpetuate later Hellenistic or Julio-Claudian forms long after styles changed in Rome. The fact that the Princeton head is carved from a capital of first or early second century date may be readily explained by this head's anachronistic Julio-Claudian or earlier style.

Beside the problems of East Greek Hellenistic styles lingering on in the imperial period, there are the further peculiarities furnished by native traditions such as the Cypriot. Vessberg identifies a head in the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum as "probably a conventionalized Cypriot portrait of Titus" (p. 163f., fig. 8). We can never take the stated provenances of Cesnola pieces on complete faith. The late Sir John L. Myres identified the head as after fourth

century B.C. work of Skopas. Certainly when compared with the excellent East Greek likeness of Titus in the Ashmolean Museum (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 557, no. 70) the Cesnola head seems to be a provincial interpretation of a Scopasian young Herakles. The eyes surely are relatively deep set (cf. the totally different eyes of the Cypriote Domitian in figs. 10f.). Among works attributed at one time or another to Skopas, the same suggestion of thinning above the center of the forehead, set of the eyes, and thickening of the flesh around the chin are found in replicas of the type known as the Ares Ludovisi (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p. 41 and full bibl.).

Complete restoration of the over-lifesize bronze statue of Septimius Severus in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Vessberg, p. 164; Dikaio, *FaStiA* 2 [1947] no. 332; *idem*, *Archaeology* [Autumn 1948] 146f.), provides a heretofore unnoticed interpretation of the iconography and symbolism of this important document. The position of the arms, the elevation of the left shoulder, and the stance, not to mention the heroic nudity, confirm the meaninglessness of the *adlocutio* interpretation. This statue is a representation of Septimius Severus as the traditional Republican and Augustan cult figure of Mars Victor (A. Reinach, *DarSag* V, 1, 511). Restoration of a spear in the right hand and a small trophy in the left would give the Cyprus statue an appearance similar to the MARS VICTOR beside an altar on sestertii of Vespasian struck in A.D. 71 (Mattingly, *BMCCRE* I, pls. 21, no. 3, 33, no. 7; cp. also the many bronze statuettes, e.g., Bieber, *op.cit.*, figs. 700f.).

The portrait of Severus is executed in a restrained version of the earlier style of his reign, recalling portraits of his Antonine predecessors (D. Levi, *BMusImp* 6 [1935] 3-9). On the evidence of the arch at Lepcis Magna and the principal portrait on the Porta Argentariorum, H. P. L'Orange dates the development of the later (or Serapis) portrait-type of Septimius Severus to the period immediately before A.D. 204 (*Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, p. 76). The Parthian wars occurred from A.D. 197-202. Considering the many conservative as well as local currents of Greek portraiture in the imperial period, there is no reason not to date the Nicosia statue as late as A.D. 202, in the period when Severus could point the parallel of Augustus' Parthian successes by having himself portrayed under the guise of a cult statue directly associated with the Parthian triumphs of 20 B.C. The use of the type in A.D. 71 by Vespasian both marks the ninetieth anniversary of the Parthian success and emphasizes the further parallel of Vespasian's own Jewish triumphs (see M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, pp. 65, 165, 174, 179).

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE ROMAN TOWN AND VILLA AT GREAT CASTERTON
RUTLAND. SECOND INTERIM REPORT FOR THE YEARS
1951-1953, edited by Philip Corder. Pp. iv + 47,

pls. 13, figs. 13. The University of Nottingham, 1954.

This report is the work of a number of persons, both those who may be classed as professionals and those who may be considered amateurs and students in the academic sense. The report embodies the combined work of those associated with the summer schools in Romano-British archaeology held at Great Casterton, 1951-53, by the University of Nottingham Department of Extra-Mural Studies, H. C. Wiltshire, Director. References to the *First Interim Report* (1951), also edited by Dr. Corder, occur throughout the present volume. Those wishing further references to these excavations may consult *FaStiA* 7 (1954) nos. 4775, 4776 (the summer school); 4 (1949) no. 4674; and *JRS* 44 (1954) p. 92, with further references to reports in that journal.

Great Casterton is a town lying along the Great North Road (A 1) not far from Stamford and Peterborough and in that narrow area through which much traffic has always passed in the general directions of Lincoln, York, and other points both north and westward. The defences of the Roman town are partially enclosed by the River Gwash, and the area has always been admirably suited to human habitation. The excavations summarized in this report have been concerned with two separate problems: the town defences and a Roman villa situated in the countryside near the river. (Reference in the next interim report to the location of the villa as regards the air photograph of the town [Plate I] would be helpful.)

The steps by which the town defences have been investigated are set forth with full graphic and photographic illustration in the first section of this report. Mr. J. D. Gillam contributes a supplement on the "Pottery from Deposits Antedating the Town Wall and Rampart" (pp. 7-10). It appears so far that the town wall was built ca. A.D. 170-180. A shelf 7 ft. wide separates this from a deep rock-cut ditch 21 ft. in width. In the fourth century this ditch was filled with stone from a shallow ditch, 60 ft. wide and 27 ft. beyond the wall. Two important discoveries remained to be explored in detail at the termination of the period covered by this report: the massive artillery tower or bastion over the filled ditch at the north angle of the town, and the traces of a Claudian or slightly later military occupation beyond the great ditch of the fourth century defences.

The story of the villa as recorded up to the time of this report is one of methodical investigation of the six principal phases of the site's occupation—from a post-hole and three roughly circular bases of pitched stones, of Antonine date, to the conversion of the east room of the villa into a simple grain-drying kiln in the fifth century A.D. In the span initiated and terminated by these remains, Dr. Corder and his colleagues have identified a large timber barn and circular drying-floor (late third or early fourth century—ca. A.D. 350-65), a dwelling-house and its extensions (ca. 350-70), and an elaboration of this dwelling-

house, brought about by marked prosperity, even luxury, surrounding the owner. Preceding a period of decay and makeshift repairs before the effective abandonment of the house, a hypocaust, architectural embellishments, plaster mouldings, frescoed walls, a brilliantly colored mosaic floor, and glazed windows show this complex to be a worthy representative of what R. G. Collingwood characterized as the "prosperous country-house life" of later Roman Britain (*CAH* 12, p. 286).

Dr. David Smith contributes a chapter on the remains of four mosaic pavements found in the villa excavations of 1950-51. This is followed by Mr. W. V. Wade's reports on the coins from the villa. His first thoroughly documented list arranges the coins chronologically, and the second relates those which date the phases of construction on the barn and villa site. His use of Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, a book completed over seventy years ago, reminds us how badly needed are the missing gaps in Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, to be filled by volumes from Drs. Sutherland, Kent, Brunn and others.

The *Second Interim Report* raises several questions which it is hoped Dr. Corder and his collaborators will investigate in further interim reports or in the several sections of the final report which must of necessity conclude this important series of studies. These questions fall into four groups. 1. The drastic alteration of the town defences in the fourth century A.D. calls for further explanation of the defensive tactics involved and citation of any other parallels from excavations throughout the frontier regions of the Empire. 2. The position of the villa in the period between the construction of the fourth century defences and the decline of the villa might be clarified by excavation, if possible, of at least one dwelling in the town area. 3. Dr. Smith's problem (p. 39) of local styles in provincial mosaics certainly suggests latitude for further comparative research, tracing styles and compositions in the manner of work on medieval illuminated manuscripts or Greek painted vases. 4. Finally, Mr. Wade notes that barbarous *minimi* of small size follow the official types by less than a generation and cannot be arranged chronologically according to progressive deterioration. He suggests that with present evidence they may be connected with the later stages of Roman occupation of Britain, rather than any subsequent period. It is hoped that this thesis will also lead to comparative studies of coin evidence from other recently excavated late Romano-British sites.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

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NEDERLANDS KUNSTHISTORISCH JAARBOEK (NETHERLANDS YEAR-BOOK FOR HISTORY OF ART), Vol. 5, 1954, introduction by G. J. Hoogewerff. Pp. 336. Uitgeversmaatschappij C. A. J. Van Dishoeck, Bussum, 1954. Fl. 27.50.

While archaeological *Festschriften* have given cause for considerable thought and a growing segment of analytical literature in recent years (D. Rounds, S. Dow, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 8 [1954] 283-298; Dow, *CW* 13 [Dec. 1954] 3), *Festschriften* big and small continue to roll off the printing presses of Western Europe and America. For these reasons, it is particularly pleasant to report the advent of a volume in honor of Professor A. W. Byvanck of Leyden which meets all the standards of the ideal *Festschrift*. The volume forms part of a series, and therefore many libraries will receive it automatically, and there will be no question where to catalogue it. This volume is handsomely designed, well integrated as to choice and length of articles, and of a most appropriate overall size. The committee for honoring Dr. A. W. Byvanck is to be congratulated on its outstanding success.

The volume opens with a dedication and a biographical Foreword by G. J. Hoogewerff. The articles cover aspects of the principal periods and subjects which have interested Prof. Byvanck, from the ancient Near East through classical antiquity to illuminated manuscripts. Seventeen of the twenty-three contributions are in the field of classical archaeology and therefore fall within the scope of this journal. The names Frankfort (perhaps his last article), Friis Johansen, Boëthius, Ashmole, Picard, Verhoogen, Richter, Charbonneaux, Alföldi, Schweitzer, Beyen, Schefold, and Bianchi Bandinelli (to select at random, in order of appearance) are indications of the quality and diversity of the contributions. Prof. Bianchi Bandinelli, writing on the Vatican Virgil 3225 and the Milan Iliad, leads off the section on book illustration. To this field K. Weitzmann, O. Kurz, F. Wormald, G. J. Hoogewerff, F. Lyna, and M. Harrsen contribute articles.

Among the contributions pertinent to this journal, articles in Dutch by A. E. Van Giffen (a survey of prehistoric dwellings in the Netherlands), G. Schneider-Hermann (a comparison between the Hesiodic shield of Herakles and works of Greek plastic art), and G. van Hoorn (on the common origin of the Etruscan Charu and the Greek Charon and Kerberos) are supplemented by summaries in English. The remaining articles are all written in English, French, German, or Italian, giving the *Festschrift* a truly international flavour. An ingeniously convenient system of references and bibliography is employed uniformly for each article. The Bibliography following each contribution serves also as a key to references cited in footnotes, and one is spared costly repetition, while having a list of works important to the material presented in the article in question.

The sad part of reviewing such an excellent volume as this is the fact that one can only comment at random, omitting several excellent articles in the hope that they will be treated in reviews elsewhere. Passing over such contributions as "A Greek Gold Ornament from Early Archaic Time" (Friis Johansen, pp. 41-52), "Muses et Inspiratrices littéraires en Grèce" (Ch. Picard, pp. 101-116), or "Die Troiasage in Pompeji" (K. Schefold, pp. 211-224), the present reviewer offers a few comments on the following six articles. These

remarks may also serve as some indication as to the content and importance of the essays in question.

In "A Greek Relief Re-discovered" (pp. 91-99), B. Ashmole publishes a late fourth century B.C. Attic votive relief from the cella of the large temple at Rhamnus. The relief was brought to England, along with the important British Museum fragment of the Nemesis attributed to Agoracritus, by John Peter (Gandy) Deering and until very recently was known to the archaeological world only through two Society of Dilettanti engravings. The rediscovery of the relief was brought about through combination of Mr. Ashmole's own researches with genealogical knowledge possessed by Miss Dorothy Stroud and Mr. John Summerson of Sir John Soane's Museum (where Gandy Deering's brother J. M. Gandy, A.R.A., worked as a draughtsman for Soane). Mr. Summerson first reported the existence of the relief in Dr. Eric Gandy's house in Gipsy Hill, and Mr. Ashmole soon verified that this was the long-lost Rhamnus relief. The scene as preserved comprises four figures, a victor in a torch-race, Nike who appears to crown him, and two goddesses whose identities are uncertain. The two leading female figures echo Pheidias or sub-Pheidias statuary types and are perhaps inspired by statues executed by Pheidias' circle for Rhamnus, although the victor at Rhamnus, as Mr. Ashmole states, may have ordered his relief from an Athenian workshop in Athens. The Rhamnus relief reminds us that all avenues to visualization of the work done by Agoracritus alone or with Pheidias (Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, 240ff.) have not been fully explored. For example, the Athenian Mother of the Gods, attributed to Agoracritus by Pliny and to Pheidias by Pausanias and Arrian, has been recently identified by Prof. Rhys Carpenter in the colossal Cybele in Boston (*The Age of Diocletian. A Symposium*. [Metropolitan Museum, N.Y., 1953] 72, fig. 14; L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue*, 106ff., no. 50).

M. Jean Charbonneaux ("Un couvercle de miroir à decor argenté et gravé au Musée du Louvre," pp. 137-140) publishes a recent acquisition "qui très vraisemblablement provient de Grèce." The interior of this cover is enriched with a figure of Pan seated on a rock. He holds up a large panther skin with his left hand and extends his right "dans un geste d'invite." The researches of Dr. W. Züchner and comparison with Kerch-style vases enable M. Charbonneaux to date this splendid acquisition in the decade before 350 B.C. An interesting problem is posed by the connection between the compositions on Greek mirror covers of the fourth century B.C. and contemporary or later coin reverses. Links between metalwork (bowls, diadems, ornamental medallions, etc.) and coin dies are numerous from Kimon and Euainetos on into the late Hellenistic and Roman periods (Richter, *AJA* 45 [1941] 363ff.; Seltman, *Approach to Greek Art*, London 1948; A. C. Levi, *NumRev* 1 [1943] 25ff.). Many compositions on Roman Republican denarii from 80 B.C. on are marked by a strong sculptural quality, featuring adaptations from compositions in other media or direct copies of statuary. The *tondo* composition of the seated Pan on the new Louvre mirror cover is the

forerunner of the figure in the reverse of an almost unique denarius of Augustus, struck about 18 B.C. by the moneyer P. Petronius Turpilianus (Mattingly, *BMCCRE* I, p. 6, note 29; V. J. E. Ryan Coll., Glendinning and Co.—A. H. Baldwin, Auction, London, 2-3 April 1952, Lot 2058, pl. v).

Miss G. M. A. Richter continues her several previous studies on the manufacture of Greek painted vases with an essay titled "Red-and-Black Glaze" (pp. 127-135). Since the article demands comment by one versed in the techniques of ceramics, the reviewer includes the following comments kindly supplied by Charles E. Meyer, formerly of Wayne University and now a Teaching Fellow in the Department of Fine Arts, University of Michigan. "Miss Richter uses a pyxis in the Louvre (figs. 1-3) to demonstrate the fact that in the red-and-black style, the technique is that of applying the black figures first, firing the piece in reduction, and then applying the red glaze and firing the piece in a second oxidizing kiln. That there are two firings, and that this sequence of black to red is followed, is proven by the pyxis, a fragment of a stemless cup from the Agora (fig. 8), and other examples where the red glaze can be clearly observed as having been applied over the black area in portions. A second firing must necessarily have taken place to prevent fusion of forms in the application of the two glazes while the piece was in the same stage of raw ware or bisque. The red glaze on the Louvre pyxis was wheel applied by a brush or sponge; this process is further proof of the fact of a double firing. The old problem of the two glazes being identical, however, is again subject to debate. If there were two firings, one a reduction and the other an oxidation, why did not the exposed portions of the black areas again become oxidized in the second firing? And why do we find identical glazes of such dissimilar powers of adhesion? The theory of the peptised clay and its application as the red glaze to a bisque pot needs further study, since the low adhesive power would have become apparent sometime during the early stages of the pot's life, and certainly frequently during the three hundred odd years of continued practice of the technique. Besides introducing these avenues of further discussion, Miss Richter has clarified the fact of the double firing and has also presented interesting explanations for the composition of the wash on Greek vases."

Andreas Alföldi ("Porträtkunst und Politik in 43 v. Chr.," pp. 151-171) continues his group of recent studies on the numismatic archaeology and history of the closing decades of the Roman Republic. Taking the denarii of eight moneyers attributed by Mommsen, Babelon, Grueber (De Salis), Sydenham, and Pink to various years in the period 43-37 B.C., Alföldi arranges them in two four-man *collegia* in the crucial year 43 B.C. which culminated in the *marcia su Roma* of Octavian. The chief basis of this redivision is the nature of the coin types and the differences in portrait style in the two groups. Into the group at the outset of 43 B.C. fall gold and denarii of C. Clodius Vestalis, M. Arrius Secundus, L. Servius Rufus, and C. Numonius Vaala. From August to December 43 appear

the gold and silver of L. Flaminius Chilo, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Q. Voconius Vitulus, and probably Petillius Capitolinus. As Alföldi himself intimates, research such as this demonstrates that while the recent works of Pink, Sydenham, Hersh and others have settled many problems of earlier Republican numismatic chronology the years from 50 B.C. offer room for further reattribution and debate.

In "Altrömische Traditionselemente in der Bildniskunst des dritten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts" (pp. 173-190), B. Schweitzer, who has himself just recently been the recipient of a *Festschrift*, develops the theme already propounded by Elsbeth Dusenberry (*Marsyas* 4 [1945-47] 1-17) and others that Roman official and private portraits of the period from Alexander Severus through Gallienus (A.D. 225-265) go through several cycles of strong dependency on portrait models from the late Republic and Augustan periods. In tracing these phases of third-century portraiture and the portrait counterparts in the periods of Republican verity and Augustan classicism, Schweitzer demonstrates his thorough command of the material in countless citations of portraits scattered in collections large and small throughout the world. His bibliography is in itself a summation of recent studies in the portraiture of this crucial period. One would only wish to add the stunning head acquired since the war by the Smith College Museum of Art and published by Martha Leeb (Mrs. Dimitri Hadzi) as a portrait of Gallienus in the strongly Augustan classical tradition (Smith College Museum *Bulletin*, 29-32 [June 1951] 8ff., figs. 1-3). Mrs. Hadzi anticipates her studies at New York University and in Rome with a chronological arrangement of the seven heads or busts identified as Gallienus.

Dr. C. C. Van Essen, Assistant Director of the Dutch Institute in Rome, contributes an article on twenty-five fragments of a large terracotta amphora, discovered in the 1953 excavations in Room X of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum ("Amphore d'apparat de l'époque des Antonins," pp. 191-198). Aside from the enriched handle, with its Medusa head forming the transition to the outside of the body, the principal fragments illustrated in this provisional publication feature scenes of a boar hunt and men standing in frontal pose. The decoration of the amphora suggests the Roman tradition of Neo Attic metalwork, as imported directly from Hellenistic Greece or as interpreted by the craftsmen of Southern Italy and Sicily. The handle fragment is in fact the terracotta counterpart of the handles on the (bronze?) krater with Bacchic reliefs in the so-called Neo Attic style, reproduced in the well-known marble frieze from the Forum of Trajan and now built into a wall in the Museo Profano Lateranense (R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* II, p. 76, fig. 8; Gusman, *L'Art décoratif*, pl. 105). While there seems no reason to question the dating based on the Faustina II-type headdress of the figure on the outside of the handle (the photograph [p. 192, fig. 2] is indistinct), the draped bust form is found on a number of bronze appliqué medallions of the first century A.D. and earlier. In instances a seem-

ingly second-century A.D. headdress covering the ears could be confused with the Hellenistic Aphrodite topknot-type coiffure as carried into these decorative medallions (cf. the bust on a *fulcrum* in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Paris [Gusman, pl. 14] and the half-figure bust of a child in similar position on a bronze couch from Pompeii [Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, p. 130, fig. 310]). Comparison with the female head and bust on a metal and wood strongbox from Pompeii (and therefore, of course, dated before A.D. 80 [Richter, pp. 143ff., fig. 341]) shows that the craftsman of the Santa Prisca terracotta amphora has given his bust that frozen frontality characteristic of less outstanding work in metal and imitative media. One has only to look at the bronze head of Medusa from the Nemi finds (Gusman, pl. 37; Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma*, pl. 89, 1) or that of the "Tazza Farnese" (Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* I, pl. 54; II, 253ff.; III, 336f., fig. 182, etc.) to know how difficult is a subjective dating of these so-called "Alexandrine" style Medusa heads, particularly those which follow traditions of workmanship in the smaller, portable media. These heads may be contrasted with those Medusae in marble, such as the Medusa Rondanini in Munich (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 156ff.), as interpreted through Hellenistic sculpture on a Flavian cinerarium in the Louvre (Gusman, pl. 167).

A Bibliography of Prof. A. W. Byvanck, arranged in the *Fasti Archaeologici* system, terminates this volume (pp. 309-331). The titles of subjects into which his writings are grouped are in Dutch, with an explanation and table of contents in both Dutch and English.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

FESTSCHRIFT DES RÖMISCH-GERMANISCHEN ZENTRAL-MUSEUMS IN MAINZ 1952, edited by *Hans Klumbach*. 3 Vols. of 73, 108 and 200 pp., respectively. Mainz, 1953.

The Mainz Museum has issued previous *Festschriften* on its golden and diamond jubilees; the present work signals a century of its service to the learned and general public. Like its predecessors, it consists of articles contributed by former and present members of the Museum staff. The Museum is better known in this country for its Roman section, but if one may judge from the contents of the present work, the prehistoric and mediaeval Germanic field lies at least equally close to the hearts of the management.

Reproduction of the table of contents falls far short of inspired reviewing, but with so diverse an offering as that in these volumes there is no more concise way of telling the story. After Behrens' outline of the high points in the Museum's last quarter-century, Sprater discusses Roman Roads of the Haardtgebirge (3 pp.); Lippold contributes an essay on the Sword of Tiberius found at Mainz and now in the British Museum (8); Behn catalogues the 108 Roman stone monuments and inscriptions from Starkenburg and discusses their his-

torical evidence (14). Herewith we leave the Roman period for a time: Behrens, "Das rückblickende Tier in der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Kunst Mitteleuropas" (18); Volbach, "Frühmittelalterliche Elfenbeinarbeiten aus Gallien" (6); Kutsch, "Acheuléen-Faustkeil aus den Mosbacher Sanden" (3); Nahrgang, "Methoden zur masstäblichen Wiedergewinnung des mittelalterlichen Kartenbildes" (17).

In vol. II the major article is that of v. Merhart, "Studien über einige Gattungen von Bronzegefäßen" (71 pp., 26 pls.), which embraces a variety of cauldrons, buckets, cups, bowls, etc., extending in area from the Tiber to the North Sea and well beyond; the next three are hardly more than notices by Erich Schmidt, "Zwei Kirchengrundrisse aus vorkarolingischer und aus karolingischer Zeit in Hirsau" (7); by Bittel, "Funde vom Donnersberg" (2); and by Albrecht, "Die Ausgrabungen in der Peterskirche auf der Hohensyburg bei Dortmund" (5). Sprockhoff's enigmatically entitled "Methodisches" (23) states the thesis that typological organization of a civilization's artifacts is often inadequate or even misleading unless balanced by an estimate of influences from other cultural areas, which he illustrates by extended discussion of bronze fibulae, of the Jastorf culture (which he re-states and redates in new terms), and of the development of megalithic ceramics.

Vol. III commences with "Pferde mit Brandmarken" (12), an extensive discussion of the classical background for a Frankish bronze, by Klumbach, the general editor; then follow v. Brunn, "Frühe soziale Schichtungen im nordischen Kreis und bei den Germanen" (16); Knöll, "Zum Frühneolithikum des Nordens" (28); Jorns, "Eine jungbronzezeitliche Siedlung in Rötha-Geschwitz bei Leipzig" (15); Töpfer, "Ein Brennofen aus der Spätlatènezeit von Ermlitz-Oberthau im Kreise Merseburg" (7); Haberey, "Ein römisches Ringgefäß aus Kärlich, Landkreis Koblenz" (4); Hafner, "Kretisch-Mykenisches in der späteren griechischen Kunst" (5); Junghanns, "Naturräumliche Bedingungen des Paläolithikums in Mitteleuropa" (9); Wagner, "Zur Geschichte der ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana victrix" (5); Pescheck, "Die Besiedlung des Wiener Beckens zur frühen Eisenzeit und die natürlichen Gegebenheiten der Landschaft" (7); Hundt, "Ein tauschiertes römisches Ringknaufschwert aus Straubing (Sorviodurum)" (10); Neumann, "Neue Inschriften aus dem Legionslager Vindobona" (centurion's inscription on a bronze plate and sepulchral inscription on a tile, 4 pp.); Lechner, "Ein merkwürdiger Fund in einem römischen Grabe bei Worms" (two painted eggs are not "Easter eggs" but symbols of life, 12 pp.); Menzel, "Lampen im römischen Totenkult" (8); Schermer, "Ein Beitrag zur Kreisgrabenfrage in Süd- und Südwestdeutschland" (8); v. Pfeffer, "Zur Typologie merowingerzeitlicher Gläser mit Fadenverzierung" (14); Fischer, "Über Nachbestattungen im Neolithikum von Sachsen-Thüringen" (21); Behrens and v. Merhart, historical sketches of the Museum (19).

HOWARD COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

THE BOOK OF BEASTS, by T. H. White. Pp. 296, figs. 128. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N.Y. 1954. \$7.50.

The Latin Bestiary as it evolved in twelfth century England was one of the most important and popular books in the medieval world. Montague Rhodes James, the chief authority on the English Bestiary, felt that its popularity was due to its use as a picture book and that its scientific value was "sadly meagre" and its literary value "nil." However, the Bestiary had a wide influence on contemporary literature as may be most clearly noted in the French and German vernacular versions, the rhymed Bestiaries of Philippe de Thaon, Guillaume le Clerc, and Bishop Theobald, and in its effect on the classical naturalists like Vincent of Beauvais and Honorius of Autun. The continual use of the Bestiary by artists and artisans for information and pictorial representation has been well treated by Cahier and Martin, G. C. Druce and others.

That this book should have been studied assiduously since the middle of the nineteenth century and that facsimiles, commentaries, and special studies have been published in great number is not in the least astonishing. The amazing fact is that a complete Bestiary was never translated into English. The present volume fully satisfies this need. It is a lively and precise translation of Manuscript II.4.26 (old number 278) in the Cambridge University Library. James had pointed to it as one of the most typical and complete of the English Bestiaries when he published a facsimile and study of the manuscript for the Roxburghe Club in 1928.

T. H. White came to the work of this translation exceedingly well equipped. He is a retired Latinist, and an amateur zoologist, and it is greatly to his credit that he has confined his erudition to his own scope. He has as a result produced from a dry, often pedantic, and confusing book a most intelligent and readable translation, equipped with a set of suggestive and witty notes. The work of relating this Bestiary to others artistically or textually, White has left to James, Lauchert, and a host of others mentioned in his bibliography. He has taken pains to make his Bestiary complete by filling in the few pages of missing text from other English manuscripts, such as Bodleian Laud. Misc. 247 and British Museum 12, CXIX, Harley 4751, and Sloan 3544, and has undertaken only one sage bit of cutting in the text on the nature of man, which is a wordy and redundant section in the original.

White has approached the Bestiary as a serious work of natural history. It is, to be sure, a compilation of the texts of Physiologus, Isidore of Seville, and others, of hunters' and travellers' tales, of oral tradition, and of actual observation. This can be noted in the repetition of stories, the confusion of characteristics and names, and the misapplication of illustrations in the original. The author has attempted in his notes to show the confusion of etymologies, as have his predecessors, but more than this, he has gathered together

all the zoological information that he could muster to show what an excellent work on animals the *Bestiary* was for the twelfth century. G. C. Druce had already tackled many of the more interesting animals singly, but his excellent publications are scattered and often hard to find. White has brought this information into immediate juxtaposition with the text, so that the ideas that the scribe was trying to convey to his contemporaries may be more easily perceived. Stories such as the bear licking its cubs into shape and the porcupine carrying apples on its quills are shown to have a factual basis. As Druce pointed out, the two-headed snake, *amphisbena*, actually exists in a legless tropical lizard, and it also appears to exist in the Indian sand boa. And other "fabulous" stories such as that of the hydra, which grows new heads when its head is cut off, can be shown to be careful observations of nature, slightly exaggerated or misunderstood in their transmission. The hydra was nothing more than a polyp, which will in fact regenerate new parts. There is a very high level of natural observation in the twelfth century *Bestiary*, and such facts as the migration of birds, obtumescence in the face of a man-eater, the love-charm of a new-born horse, and the cloudy eyes of an eagle show the wisdom of the medieval naturalist if not in his own observation at least in the choice of his sources.

The ninety-eight illustrations in the text are extremely good. White made tracings from a photostat of the manuscript, which are reproduced in line, and are equal to the James facsimile illustrations in quality and better in clarity. The half-tone illustrations, of which there are only six, plus the inside covers, are ample but not of the quality of the James edition.

The thirty-nine page Appendix at the end of the book is preceded by the text of the *Bestiary* without an introduction. In the Appendix, White summarizes in very general terms the complexities of the sources of the *Bestiary*, its twelfth century background, some of the problems and attitudes toward the *Bestiary*, and its influence on later literature. As the writer relies on previous authors to relate the Cambridge manuscript to other texts, it is unfortunate that he did not annotate his bibliography to indicate the principal sources of comparative information. There is also material on English *Bestiaries* in continental libraries, like the publication by Konstantinova of the *Bestiary* in the National Library in Leningrad, which is thus omitted.

The volume is an example of the important contribution of special knowledge outside a field. It provides a basic text of the *Bestiary* in English and summarizes and amends the zoological information previously related to *Bestiary* manuscripts. Both the text and the notes are endowed with a refreshing directness that no footnote-sodden analysis could ever achieve. It is the facts which are interesting, and as the author says, he tries to "cover the nakedness of our Fathers with the Cloke of a favourable Interpretation."

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

CATALOGUE OF ASTROLOGICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES, VOL. III, 1-2. MANUSCRIPTS IN ENGLISH LIBRARIES, by Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier. Edited by Harry Bober. Text: Pp. lxxv + 447, figs. 35. Plates: Pp. 65, pls. 92. The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1953. £5.5.0.

More than twenty-five years have elapsed since the appearance of the first two volumes of this series which dealt with astrological and mythological manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages in Roman libraries and the National Library of Vienna. The delay in the preparation of the third volume, a catalogue of pertinent material in English collections, was caused first by the upheaval of the war, then by the untimely death of the collaborating authors, Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier. Its publication some months ago is due to the efforts of Professor Harry Bober of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Aside from completing the textual volume, Professor Bober compiled an extensive and most representative selection of illustrative material. The resulting compendium comprises astrological and mythological illuminated texts dating from the ninth to the early sixteenth century, which are preserved in seventy-five public and private English collections.

In the introductory section of the catalogue it is demonstrated that the Classic *Aratea* tradition, which was revived in the Carolingian period, can best be followed in English manuscripts of the succeeding centuries. Noteworthy in the two extant examples of the tenth century (British Museum, Harley Ms. 2506 and Cotton Ms. Tiberius B. V) are the innovations in the pictorial scheme of the constellations. The first, illuminated in the Winchester tradition, deviates from its classic prototype in the use of oriental and pagan mythological motifs in certain constellations (such as *Aquarius*, *Centaur*, etc.), whose astrological meaning was thereby negated. In the second example the transformation was more general and also more radical. The removal of the text from within the constellation served the motivating purpose of imbuing them with an independent animation far removed from their original function as representational symbols. A contrasting example in which the classic tradition is preserved intact is a twelfth century manuscript illustrated in Peterborough (British Museum, Cotton Ms. Tiberius C. I). It is an exact copy of a mid-ninth century *Aratea* manuscript written in France and modelled on a late antique prototype, which came to England towards the beginning of the eleventh century (British Museum, Harley Ms. 647).

The relatively short-lived duration of the pure classic textual tradition in England is demonstrated by two astrological treatises which contain misinterpretations and elaborations completely unrelated to the specifications of scientific observation of the stars (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Ms. 614, Digby Ms. 14). During the Gothic period the disinterest in illuminated

astrological manuscripts is attested to by the dearth of English examples. The ultimate expression of the lack of interest in the rendering of constellation figures manifested itself in the copying of woodcuts and block-books produced on the continent, especially those of German origin.

Simultaneous with the decline of the illustration of constellations in England was the development in southern Europe of a school of astrology under the leadership of Michael Scotus who combined Graeco-Arabic and mythological imagery with the Latin Aratea tradition to create a unique scheme of illustration so thoroughly integrated with the text that it was preserved without major changes through the middle of the fifteenth century. The significance of Scotus' work, which replaced the Aratea tradition almost completely, lies not in the realm of natural science but in the clarification of the material for the humanist. The Renaissance, however, in a search for order within the multiple transmissions of astrological treatises reinstated the Aratea tradition. Manuscripts obtained from Sicily provided an absolute standard for the illustration of the constellations during the Renaissance. Once more the treatises were destined primarily for use by laics, among them the duke Federigo d'Urbino and Leonora deGonzaga. For the scholars, to whom the popular tracts were of no value, the principal source of scientific astrology remained the Graeco-Arabic tradition of Ptolemy.

A final sphere of influence discussed at length by Saxl is the *Sphaera Barbarica* of pre-Greek constellations whose illustrated versions in western Europe followed one of three iconographic schemes. By far the most popular was that accompanying the text of Apomasar in which the elements of the Persian, Indian, and Graeco-Roman spheres were depicted in three strips placed one above the other. This artistic tradition, whose source may be traced to twelfth century South Italian manuscripts and which prevailed through the fifteenth century, is represented in a manuscript made for the Duc de Berry. The *Sphaera Barbarica* never attained wide popularity. It remained the domain of specialists.

The clear exposition of the principal features of the astrological and mythological illuminated manuscripts preserved in English collections is followed by a detailed description of each treatise, complete with bibliographical references. Highly commendable, also, are the indices preceding the volume of illustrations which were compiled by Elisabeth Rosenbaum. A minor inconsistency whose purpose might be questioned is the alternation of English and Latin in the titles of the indices. All in all, the catalogue provides an extremely useful source of information to scholars in fields ranging from the history of science to art and iconography.

LILIAN M. C. RANDALL

NEW YORK

EARLY MAN IN AMERICA, A STUDY IN PREHISTORY,
by E. H. Sellards. A publication of the Texas

Memorial Museum, University of Texas Press,
Austin, Texas, 1952. Pp. 211, figs. 47, restoration
drawings, 8. \$4.50.

Man's Pleistocene and early post-Pleistocene occupation of the Western Hemisphere is a most critical and challenging aspect of contemporary American archaeology. The workers in this field are in dire need of objective, factual summaries of the complex and often confused data and reports pertaining to this mushrooming study. A unique contribution to the literature on early man is Dr. Elias H. Sellards' book, *Early Man in America*. Here is a reference which laymen and scientists find useful.

The layman will turn to it because it depicts concisely and understandably man's early culture complexes against their natural background of geological and climatological conditions. The layman will also appreciate the simple explanations of dating-methods and other techniques employed by archaeologists, and will find equally understandable the general chapter pertaining to the origin of American cultures. The restorations of extinct animals will bring to life what, for many, have been only names or jumbles of bones.

The scientist who finds himself lost in the accumulated data of the past two decades will find in Dr. Sellards' book a welcome simplified summary of a cross section of discoveries and interpretations announced during and prior to 1951—a "refresher course" at its best. The lengthy list of localities and the comprehensive bibliography are guides for those desiring authentic and specific details of individual discoveries.

The general reader and many students will find new data and convenient summaries of little-known information in the chapter pertaining to marked or carved bones and stone. The chapter on large mammals of the late Pleistocene is an essential adjunct to any study of early human occupation, and will, it is hoped, lead at least the student and professional archaeologist deeply into the study of palaeontology—one of the allied sciences without some knowledge of which the archaeologist is indeed poorly equipped.

For all who read *Early Man in America*, there will be, in this reviewer's opinion, two outstanding aspects: 1) the excellent portrayal of "Hunters of the Plains"—particularly those portions devoted to the Lubbock and Blackwater localities; 2) the stimulating presentation of occasional technical details, hypotheses and questions which bring the subject to life, lift it out of the factual-list category, and bring to the reader the feeling that he is sharing the author's experience and knowledge.

It is difficult to criticize a book which fills so well such a specific need, but, among those with more than casual interest and background, some criticisms may arise. The title is to an extent misleading, for human remains are intentionally omitted from the discussion. The author quickly explains that the reader must not expect data on human skeletal material, but might not "Man's Early Occupation of America" or some similar

title more accurately announce Dr. Sellards' objective?

The reader will find such a unique and illuminating experience in the chapter on the High Plains that the data from other areas in later chapters may seem disappointingly routine. The archaeologist whose special interest is in the southeastern United States, for example, will find few references to his localities. This may suggest an over-emphasis on the High Plains area. On the other hand, the thoughtful reader may become acutely aware of the need for work in other areas comparable to that done with the Llano and other complexes of the High Plains. Fortuitous discoveries have combined with expert investigation by scientists equipped to handle and interpret the associated archaeological, palaeontological and geological material. From this combination has been derived our best-known early culture sequence. It is to be hoped that similar sequences will be established in other areas.

The record on many 19th and early 20th century excavations is incomplete; little work has been done in many areas; and environmental conditions in some physiographic provinces are not conducive to preservation. Therefore, available references to localities in many parts of North, Central and South America are sketchy; and descriptions and lists in Dr. Sellards' book reflect this condition. However, they do serve to indicate the wide range of early occupation. We do know that man spread across the Western Hemisphere; it remains for future investigations to discover critical, diagnostic sites that will correlate the cultures of the various areas.

The reader who notes that important sites have been omitted, should temper his feelings by remembering that only data known prior to 1952 are included. New concepts, new complexes, and many of America's most important archaeological sites have come to light during the subsequent years.

Admittedly, some important sites known prior to 1952 were overlooked. It would be asking the impossible to expect an author not to omit some localities.

Those who explore the pages of this book hoping to find at the end a neat, precise summary and interpretation of man's early occupation will be disappointed. The nature of the subject precludes such an ending, and permits only a progress report. Paleo-archaeology is a very young science in America—too young to afford final interpretations but perfectly capable of affording thought-provoking hypotheses, and these the reader will find. It is most appropriate that Dr. Sellards should conclude with a chapter on "General Considerations" in which he reviews briefly but succinctly the "Progress of a Century" and then closes by "Looking Forward." In this last, he properly emphasizes the need for correlating the many culture complexes. In his final sentences, Dr. Sellards drives home two facts: 1) that the future of human prehistory promises progress unequalled at any time in the past; 2) the need for "diligent, patient, long-continued search." Certainly the years since Dr. Sellards' book was published have confirmed these remarks. Progress

is swift and the need for dedicated scientists grows in direct proportion.

RUTH D. SIMPSON

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THE HORSE IN BLACKFOOT INDIAN CULTURE, by John C. Ewers. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 159. Washington, D.C., 1955. \$2.75.

This is a most important and valuable work, as the author's name and source of publication would naturally suggest. Dr. Ewers has had the advantages of access to the most complete collection of material on this subject in the world; and has utilized them nobly in what is a truly magnificent piece of research. It is so wide and comprehensive in scope that it might very appropriately have been entitled "The Horse in Plains Indian Culture." It is not so much concerned with the arrival of the animal in the "horse area" of the continent (which may be defined for this purpose as the territory west of the Mississippi) as with its influence on the life of the Indians after they got it. In an extraordinarily short time, the Plains tribes, who had at first experienced sheer panic at the mere sight of these terrible monsters, became one of the three or four truly equestrian peoples of the world. The Indians of the North American continent are, moreover, almost the only equestrian people in the world of whom we know very much prior to their possession of the animal. We are thus enabled to form some intelligent idea of its extraordinary effect on Plains life both in peace and war, and in the spheres of economic, social, and cultural development. This is described with a breadth of treatment and a minuteness of detail which leaves virtually no department unexplored.

It goes without saying that this is a book for the specialist. But it is also one which the intelligent reader who is interested in the history of civilization in his own country should be able to enjoy; together with the knowledge that he is receiving his instruction from a thoroughly competent teacher.

FRANK GILBERT ROE

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THE BURIAL COMPLEX OF THE REIGH SITE, WINNEBAGO COUNTY, WISCONSIN, by David A. Baerreis, Hiroshi Daifuku, and James E. Lundsted. The Wisconsin Archeologist, New Series, Volume 35, Number 1, pp. 1-36. Milwaukee, 1954.

One of the most difficult and interesting archaeological problems of the Great Lakes region is that posed by isolated finds of thousands of copper tools of types not associated with the familiar pottery-making

and mound-building cultures of the region. This common absence and technical similarity, plus the evidence of a few caches, suggested that the various types of tools represented by the stray finds were in fact the products of a single cultural tradition. The distribution of the finds indicated that its geographical center lay in eastern Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in close proximity to the sources of native copper on the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale. This concept of unity found expression in the term "Old Copper Culture" (or "Old Copper Complex"). The early temporal position was, of course, an inference drawn from the absence of the characteristic copper tools in the sites of the proto-historic peoples and their progenitors in the region.

However, the problem of the Old Copper Culture has more than regional significance owing to the character of the tools involved. Gouges, adzes, and chisels, used for heavy woodworking; crescentic, center-hafted knives (reminiscent of the Eskimo ulu) and end-tanged, curved knives; and several varieties of projectile points are the most prominent Old Copper types. Considered as an assemblage, these types more than faintly resemble certain complexes in New York, New England, and eastern Canada now loosely grouped as the Laurentian tradition. In the Laurentian sites, the familiar styles appear in ground slate and other stone rather than in copper, but one New York Laurentian site has produced a few copper specimens which may well have been imports from the Lake Superior region. The intervening region in Ontario has produced several hundred Old Copper specimens (R. E. Popham and J. E. Emerson, *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 24 [1954] 1-19). Conversely, a ground slate point was found on Isle Royale a few years ago.

Taking the typological evidence and the more direct hints of connection together, it appears that Old Copper-Laurentian is a relatively old and distinctive industrial tradition which was at home in the boreal forest zone and its southern fringes. Moreover, a similar tradition is present in the "Neolithic" of Siberia and the Arctic Stone Age of northern Europe where it seems to have developed from a Mesolithic base, an open invitation to explain the presence of the Laurentian-Old Copper culture type in North America by diffusion of a culture complex or even by actual migration from Siberia to North America.

A definitive appraisal of this theory with the aid of fully excavated sites exhibiting a wide range of material culture is obviously of more than casual interest to the culture historian and the student of cultural ecology. A promising start in the New York-New England area was made by Ritchie, Bailey and others some twenty years ago, but until 1945 no site of the Old Copper variant of the tradition was known. In that year the Osceola Site in extreme southwestern Wisconsin was discovered and excavated (R. Ritzenthaler, *Wisconsin Archeologist* 27 [1946] 53-70). A second site, at Oconto, was excavated in 1952 (R. Ritzenthaler and W. L. Wittry, *Wisconsin Archeologist* 33 [1952] 199-223), and finally the Reigh Site was excavated in 1953. These sites definitely promote Old

Copper from the status of a logical construct to that of an observed assemblage, although all are essentially cemeteries and hence hardly present a rounded picture of the culture even by archaeological standards.

The information from the three sites is too scanty for elaborate comparison, but it does suggest that they are not identical, presumably as a result of geographical and chronological factors. The Osceola Site is some 200 miles to the southwest of the other two and well out of the area of intensive occurrence of copper tools. It produced, in addition to copper tools, large chipped flint spear points or knives much like those from late Archaic and early Woodland sites in central and southern Illinois, and grave fill showed a number of potsherds which were thought to be inclusive but not a part of the culture complex of the Old Copper cemetery.

Pottery was not found at the Oconto and Reigh sites, but the small quantity and restricted typological range of copper specimens at the latter site leads the authors to infer that it is comparatively late; this conclusion is reinforced by the presence of a marine shell ornament identical in type with those from another culture generally considered to be Early Woodland in age (contemporary with the first mound-building, pottery-making cultures of the eastern United States).

On this evidence the Old Copper Culture was fully developed before the introduction of pottery, mound building, or agriculture anywhere in the eastern United States, and persisted as a geographically marginal culture type for some time after these innovations appeared farther to the south. Two radiocarbon dates are available for the Oconto Site (*Science*, Vol. 120, p. 740), one of 5,600 years ago ± 600 years, the other 7,510 years ago ± 600 years. The other sites would be somewhat later. The Oconto dates indicate an implausibly long interval of about 2,000 years between two graves in one compact cemetery. Moreover, the older date in particular seems unreasonably ancient in view of the general trend of radiocarbon dates for the similar cultures of New York; but there can be little doubt that the chronological position suggested above is substantially correct.

The actual content of the three sites is not as informative as one might wish, although they do provide data on work in stone, bone, and antler as well as copper tools and burial practices. From the standpoint of the determined diffusionist, the most notable find is that of two elk antler axes from the Reigh cemetery which seem very much in the tradition of the early Mesolithic Lyngby axes of northern Europe. Artifacts of this type have not been found heretofore in eastern North America to the reviewer's knowledge, and they are a welcome addition to the list of Old World-New World typological resemblances. Large side-notched flint knives and smaller projectile points of the same general shape are characteristic, and there are conical bone projectile points as well.

No trace is reported of the lamellar flaking technique which appears to be associated with several ancient arctic cultures of America and is so characteristic of the Old World Mesolithic. It will be difficult to link

the lamellar flakes of certain archaeological cultures of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, notably the Hopewell and Poverty Point manifestations, with the Old World Mesolithic if such geographically and chronologically intermediate cultures as the Old Copper and Laurentian fail to exhibit the technique. The absence further suggests that the postulated Old World prototype of the Old Copper-Laurentian culture existed at a time when the Mesolithic lamellar flaking tradition had already been abandoned except in the far north.

ALBERT C. SPAULDING

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PREHISTORIC STONE IMPLEMENTS OF NORTHEASTERN ARIZONA, by *Richard B. Woodbury*. Reports of the Awatovi Expedition, No. 6. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Volume xxxiv. Cambridge, 1954. Pp. xii + 240, figs. 41, tables 19. \$7.50.

This specialized report contains a detailed analysis of over 8000 stone objects from sites in northeastern Arizona extending over a period of nearly twelve centuries.

The methodology of the report is admirable. The details of each artifact type or style are minutely recorded. Each major artifact type is carefully defined, classified, given proper nomenclature, and placed in chronological position.

This volume departs somewhat from other specialized reports, such as A. V. Kidder's *Artifacts of Pecos* (1932) and H. S. Gladwin, *et al.*, *Excavations at Snaketown I: Material Culture* (1937), in that it is exclusively concerned with stone implements; this detracts to a certain degree, from the overall evaluation of minor crafts. For example, in Woodbury's section on stone pipes there is the statement that pipes of pottery were far more abundant. This tantalizing information, the details of which are beyond the scope of this report, as are bone tools and non-stone jewelry, has the effect of placing more importance on material than on function.

On the other hand, the discussion of unshaped flaked tools, as an example, is indicative of the thoroughness of this report. Many site reports have neglected the lowly flake, giving the false impression that the paucity of well-chipped specimens indicated that very few stone tools were used.

Woodbury has demonstrated for this area of the Anasazi region the remarkable continuity in the forms of stone artifacts. Many remained unchanged for over 1200 years. The change from trough to flat metates at the end of Pueblo II is the most clear-cut chronological distinction of stone tools.

The treatment of the tools from an ethnographic standpoint, by comparisons with modern Hopi usage (ca. 1880 to present) makes this volume one of the

most important contributions of its type to Southwestern archaeology. Furthermore, the clear, concise thought given to artifact classification from the standpoint of both design and function will do much to stabilize our terminology of stone tools.

HERBERT W. DICK

TRINIDAD JUNIOR COLLEGE
TRINIDAD, COLORADO

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK, COLORADO, 1950, by *James A. Lancaster, Jean M. Pinkley, Philip F. Van Cleave, and Don Watson*. National Park Service, Archeological Research Series, No. 2. U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1954. Pp. x + 118, pls. 72, 1 map, tables 9. \$1.00.

This volume is another in the current series on archaeology that has been inaugurated by the National Park Service, and it is to be hoped that in the future much more work of the same calibre will see publication. The book is a group of four separate papers, each written by one or two of the named authors, but all carefully coordinated.

The over-all purpose is to present to the professional Southwesternist and to other interested persons the results of a series of excavations in Mesa Verde National Park, to illustrate certain hitherto inadequately understood stages in the prehistory of that area. For 75 years the spectacular cave ruins of the Mesa Verde have been widely known, but probably few persons realize that the area also contains thousands of unexcavated sites embracing a chronological span of at least 700 years from Basket Maker to Classic Pueblo. It has been the policy of the Park Service to explore this time span in detail and to present to visitors a comprehensive series of excavated sites exemplifying its several stages. The sites herein described fill several gaps and will do much to clarify the story.

Each of the authors is well qualified for the task, from long association with the archaeology of Mesa Verde and dedication to its study. They did not create Mesa Verde, but they have wrought manfully to make it what it is today.

The first paper, "Introduction to Mesa Verde Archeology," by Watson (pp. 1-6), presents a concise and comprehensive summary of investigations done in the Mesa Verde since its discovery, and serves as a useful index of the existing literature. The author also spells out in terms understandable to the non-specialist an outline of Mesa Verde prehistory, explaining and correlating the Pecos, Roberts, and Gladwin chronologies, thus providing background for the specialized papers that follow.

The second paper, "Excavation of Two Late Basket Maker III Pithouses," by Lancaster and Watson (pp. 7-22), describes Twin Trees, a site of about A.D. 700, chosen to fill a gap between other already excavated sites of approximately A.D. 600 and 840. There are two

nearly contemporary pithouses, architecturally midway between the shallow pithouse of about 600 and the deep pitroom of about 800, which ultimately evolved into the familiar Mesa Verde kiva. Features and artifacts are fully described and well illustrated, and a very interesting treatment of the pottery is presented. Most was classified as "Lino Gray" and "La Plata Black-on-white," although both contained mainly crushed-rock temper with mica flecks, instead of the sand temper characteristic of those types as hitherto described. The authors make this point clearly but exercise admirable restraint in not creating new types or sub-types, emphasizing instead the need for more intensive study of this problem.

In the third paper, "Excavation at Site 16 of Three Pueblo II Mesa-top Ruins," by Lancaster and Pinkley (pp. 23-86), a very complex and difficult excavation is fully and clearly described. Here again lacunae in the local sequence have been filled by uncovering successive occupations, probably spanning most of Pueblo II from ca. 900 to ca. 1100. Although the villages were puzzlingly entangled they have been clearly differentiated to show three distinct stages in development. The oldest was a surface village of post-and-adobe construction with a circular kiva, lacking pilasters, southern recess, and systematic masonry, but having a complete banquette, ventilator, and characteristic floor features.

The second village was a small masonry pueblo with circular kiva equipped with banquette, partial masonry, 6 pilasters, ventilator, and various floor features. This was followed by another masonry pueblo with well developed kiva having 8 pilasters, masonry walls, southern recess, ventilator, and elaborate floor features. But the most interesting structures were three circular towers built just outside the pueblo. Using the towers and the kivas as points of departure the authors pre-

sent a very useful survey of the development of these structures in the area, showing that almost the entire evolution of the Mesa Verde kiva occurred during Pueblo II, and that the tower first appeared in late Pueblo II. At site 16 no ceramic stratigraphy was indicated, although a striking range of decorative motives occurred on the predominant Mancos Black-on-white, which the authors discuss very fully with excellent photographs, but make no attempt at typological decimation.

The final paper, "The Excavation of Sun Point Pueblo," by Lancaster and Van Cleave (pp. 87-111), adds a small mesa-top ruin of middle Pueblo III, just prior to the great Classic sites. Here is a small masonry pueblo with fully developed kiva, the latter connected by tunnel with a circular masonry tower. This kiva-tower complex is known elsewhere, but was apparently limited to a very brief period in mid-Pueblo III. Although no dendrochronological dates were available from this site the authors present a series of inferences based on architecture and pottery to place its occupation at ca. A.D. 1200.

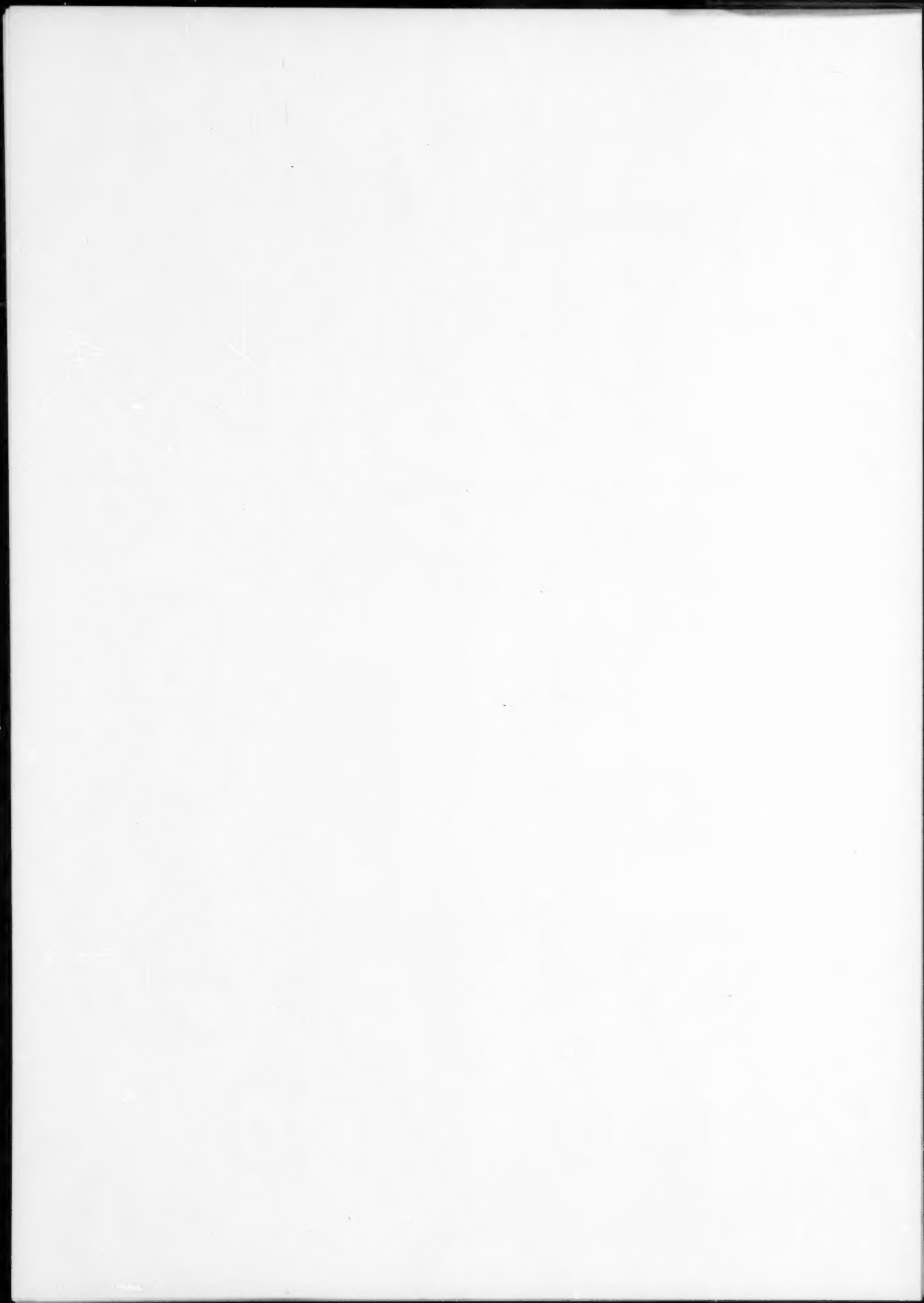
In conclusion, it should be noted that this volume is handsomely printed and excellently illustrated. There are 29 large architectural photographs, about 270 good photographs of individual sherds and vessels, 123 photographs of artifacts, 15 detailed plans and elevations, and 6 hypothetical reconstructions of buildings, all of which add greatly to the readability of the text and should set an example for other archaeologists. The authors deserve much commendation for having assembled these several bits and pieces into a connected narrative which so clearly portrays cultural developments in the Mesa Verde between Basket Maker III and middle Pueblo III.

WATSON SMITH

TUCSON, ARIZONA



ILLUSTRATIONS



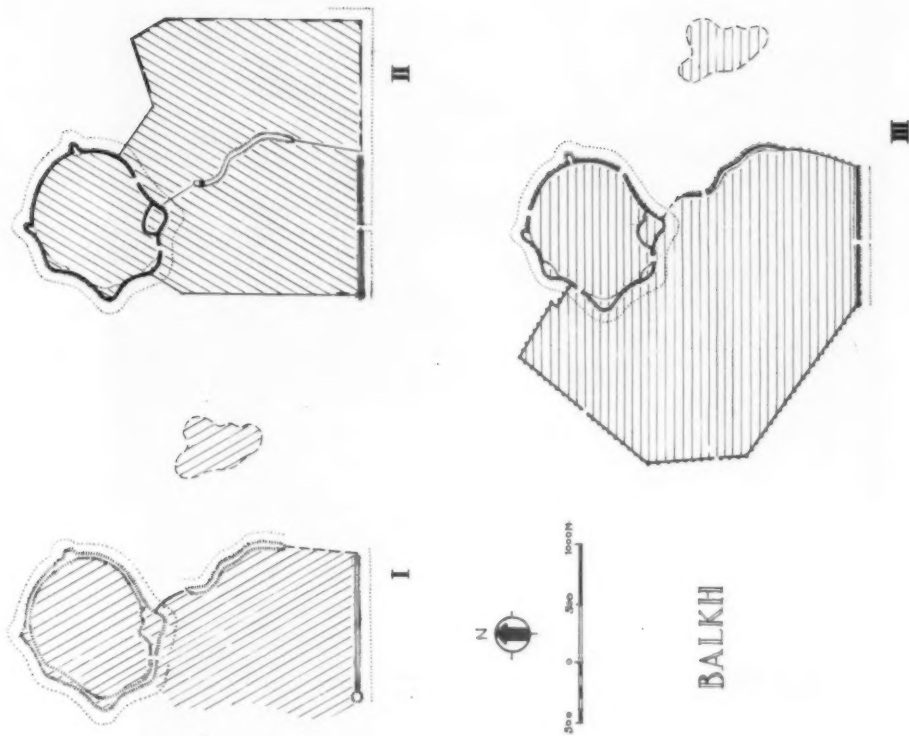


FIG. 2. Sketch plan, by M. Le Berre, of various phases in the development of Balkh. Pre-Islamic city, II; Islamic city, III

BALKH

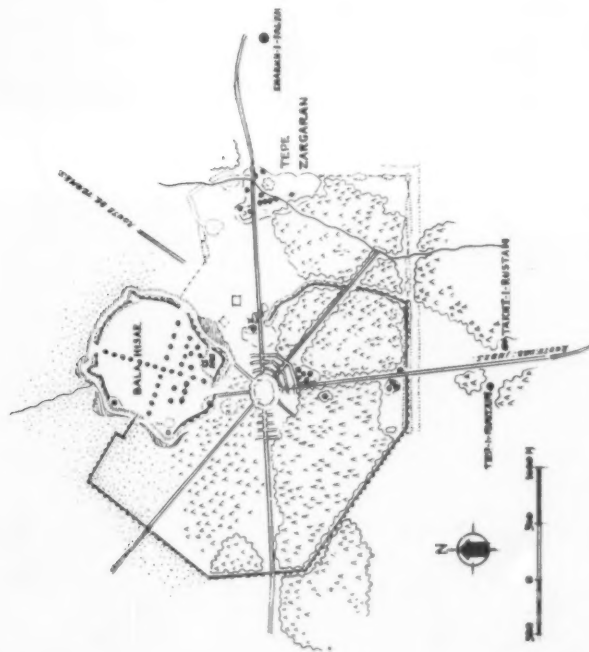


FIG. 1. General plan of modern Balkh, showing sondages made by French Mission.
Adapted from *Syria* 26 (1949) 174, fig. 1



FIG. 3. South wall of Balkh from Top-i-Rustam. At left, Islamic wall; at right, Islamic wall on earlier embankment



FIG. 4. The southwest corner from the north. Below the kiosk, stump of west wall. Sondage at left



FIG. 5. Inner face of south wall from west, showing earth accumulation and sondage

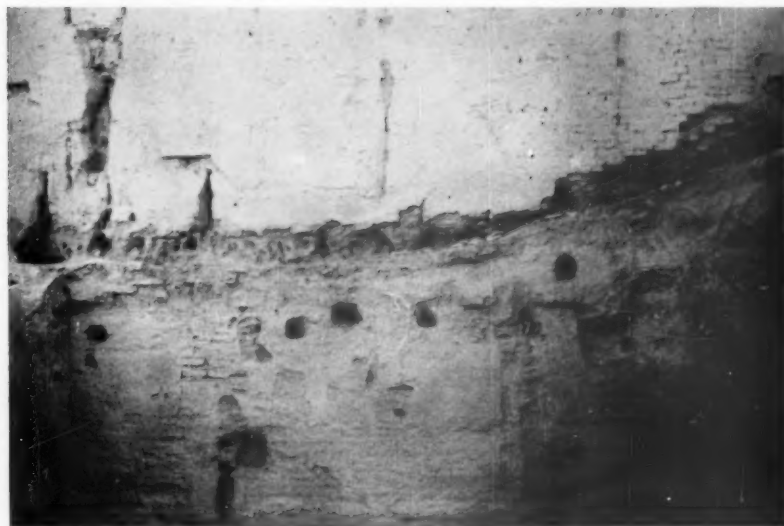


FIG. 6. Islamic wall resting on earlier wall, with niches for Islamic burials and vertical erosion channels

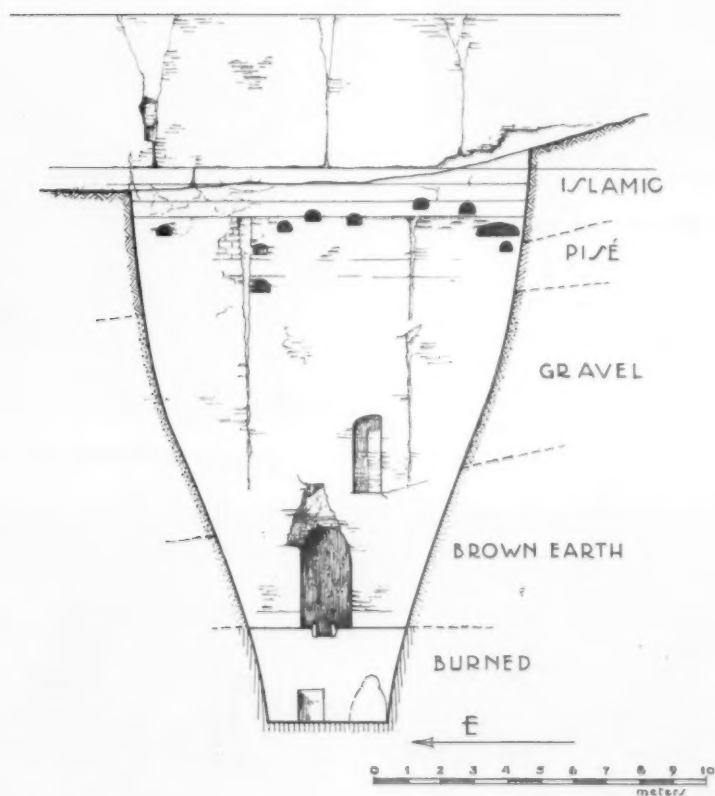


FIG. 7. Section-elevation showing both walls and the fills in front of them, by Dorothy H. Cox

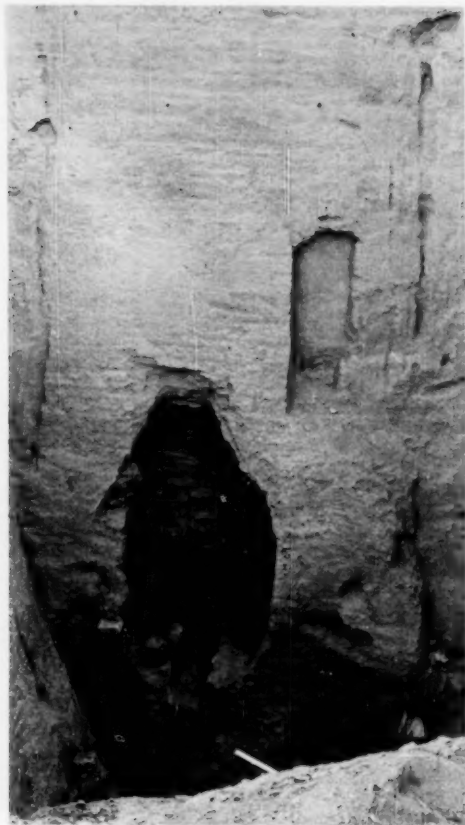


FIG. 8. The niche and postern in the earlier wall

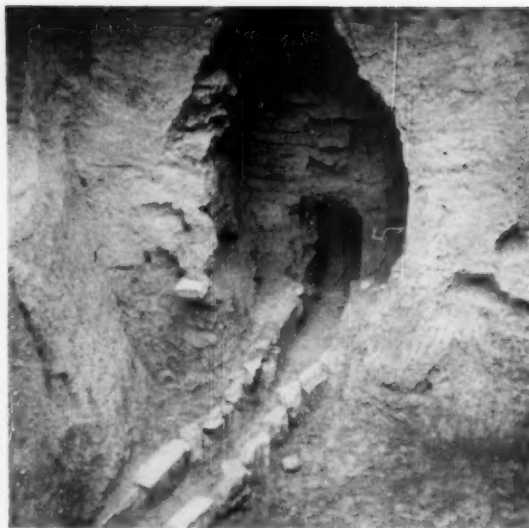


FIG. 9. The postern and drain through the earlier wall



FIG. 11. Black-glazed hellenistic bowl from layer IV



FIG. 10. Red-glazed moulded bases from layer IV and the kiln (right)

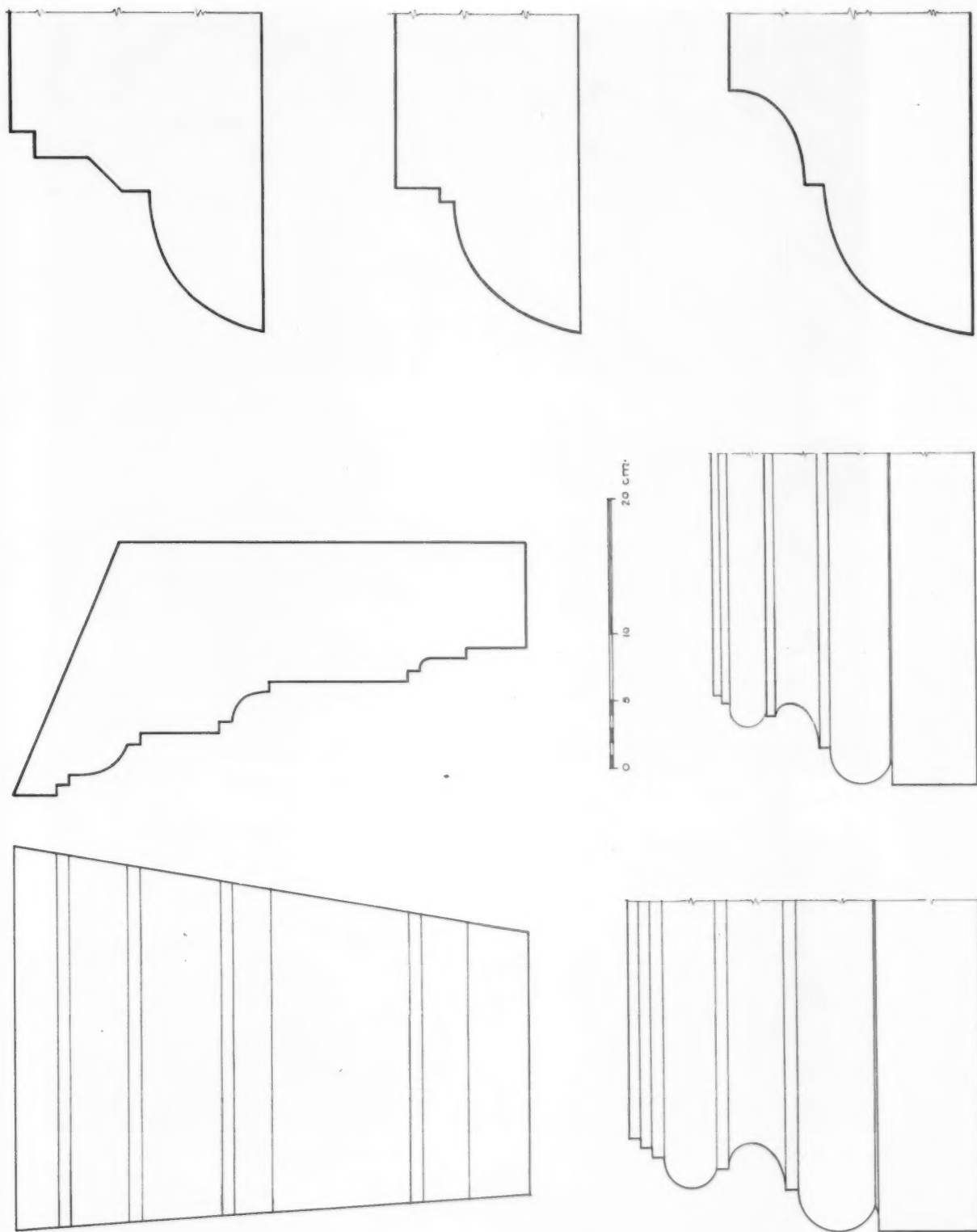


FIG. 12. Profiles of stones found built into the water channel, by Dorothy H. Cox
(1:4)



FIG. 13. Voussoir block from the water channel



FIG. 14. Pilaster base from the water channel



FIG. 15. Amphora from the kiln



FIG. 16. Red-glazed bowl of Hellenistic type, from the kiln



FIG. 17. Stamped sherd from wall at postern



FIG. 18. City wall of Begram in section, with fallen debris



FIG. 2. The San Francisco Mirror No. 2
(Photograph by Victor Duran)

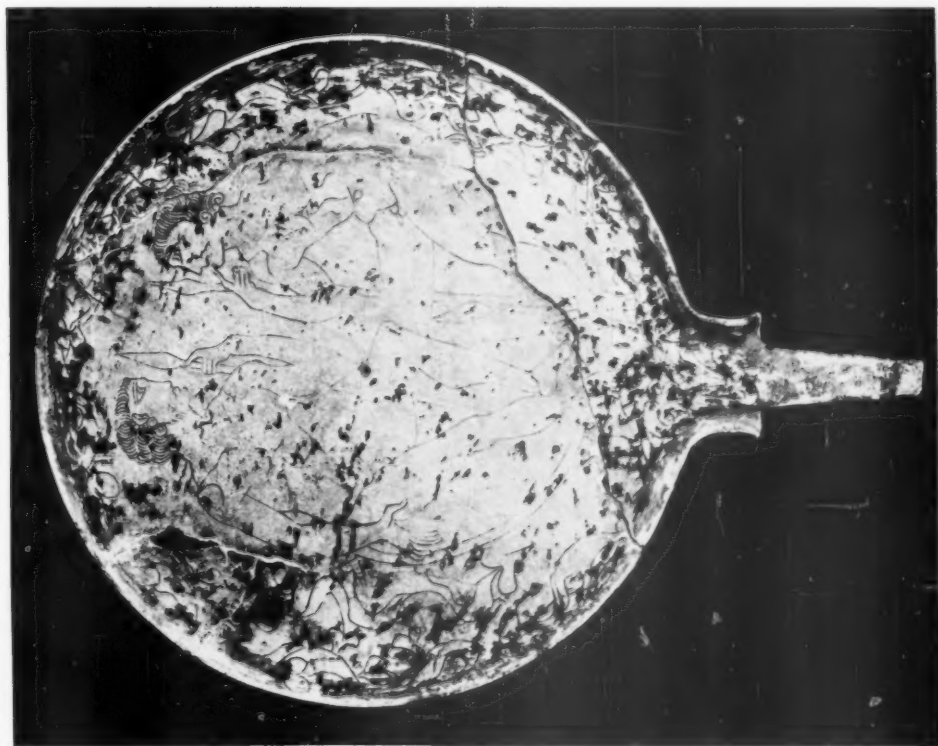


FIG. 1. The San Francisco Mirror No. 1
(Photograph by Victor Duran)



FIG. 4. The Baltimore Mirror; The Walters Art Gallery 54.1164



FIG. 3. The Cairo Mirror; Cairo National Museum 27.902



FIG. 5. The Vatican Mirror; Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Collection Guglielmi A, 42



FIG. 6. Gerhard ES 1, pl. XLIX, 2

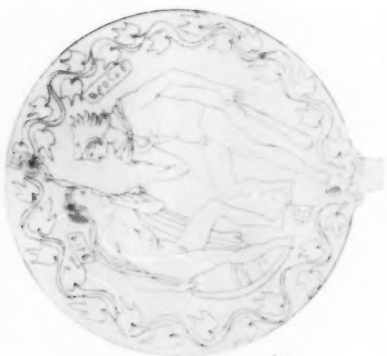


FIG. 7. Gerhard ES 2, pl. CXXVIII



FIG. 8. Gerhard ES 1, pl. LIV, 1



FIG. 9. Gerhard ES 3, pl. CCLIII

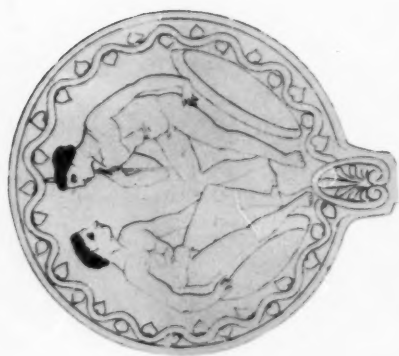


FIG. 10. Gerhard ES 1, pl. XLIX, 5



FIG. 11. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco
Sala III, L, 25

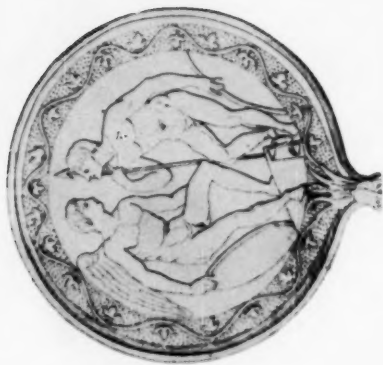


FIG. 12. Gerhard ES 1, pl. LII, 3

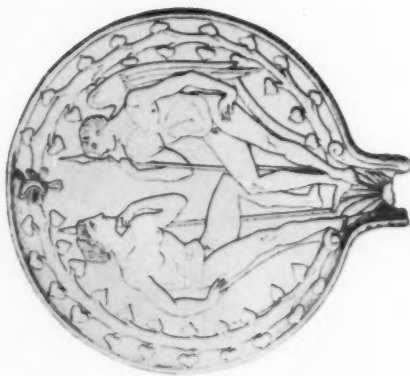


FIG. 13. Gerhard ES 1, pl. LII, 4



FIG. 14. The Ficoroni Cista Adjunct

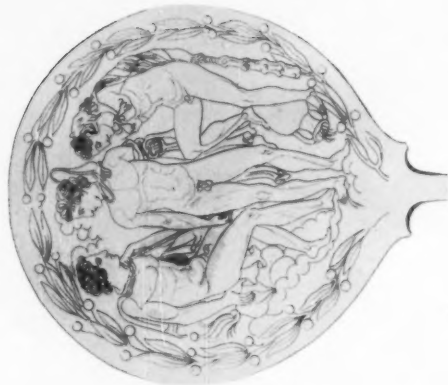


FIG. 15. The Bologna Mirror
Gerhard ES 2, pl. CXXXI



FIG. 1. Pediment Group from the Hekatompedon



FIG. 2. Triple-bodied Figure

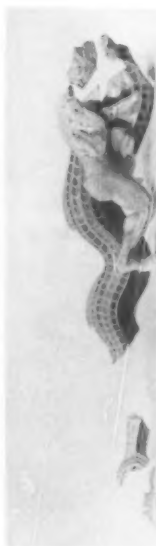


FIG. 3. Herakles wrestling with Triton

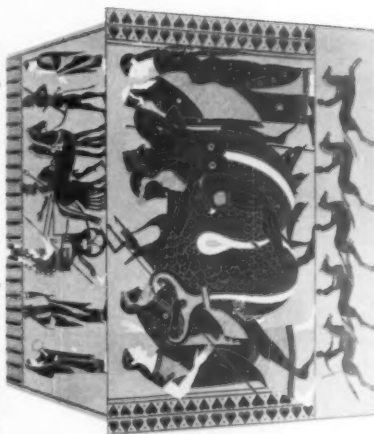


FIG. 4. Herakles wrestling with Triton



FIG. 5. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron



FIG. 6. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron



FIG. 7. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron

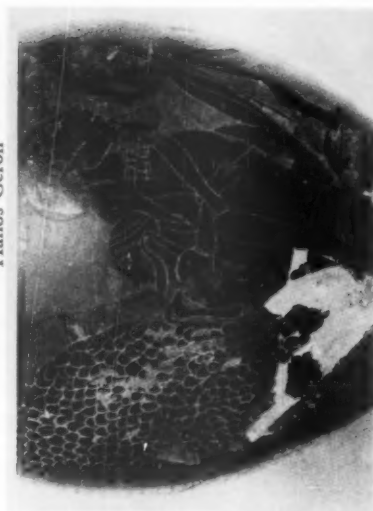


FIG. 8. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron



FIG. 9. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron



FIG. 10. Herakles wrestling with the Halios Geron

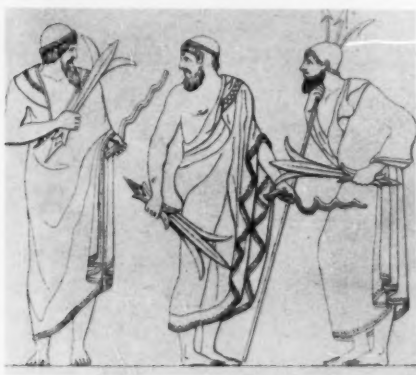


FIG. 11. Zeus as Herkeios



FIG. 13. Relief of Zeus Meilichios



FIG. 12b. Snake's Head from Hekatompedon Pediment

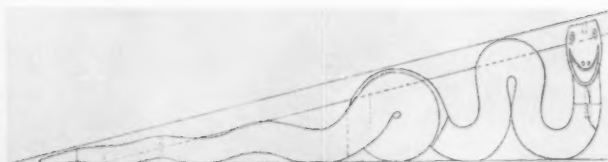


FIG. 12a. Snake from an Angle of Hekatompedon Pediment

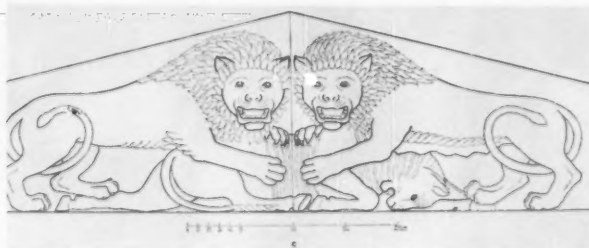


FIG. 14. Lions and Bull

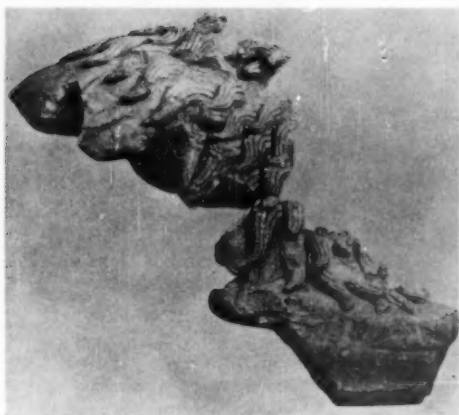


FIG. 15. Fragment from Group with crouching Lion



FIG. 16. Lioness rending Calf



FIG. 17. Athena, and Bull in Shrine



FIG. 18. Leopard from Metope of Hekatompedon



FIG. 19. Head of Gorgon from Hekatompedon



FIG. 20. Torso of Perseus from Hekatompedon





FIG. 1. Rome, Palatine: Objects from the early incineration Burial *Courtesy of G. Carettoni*

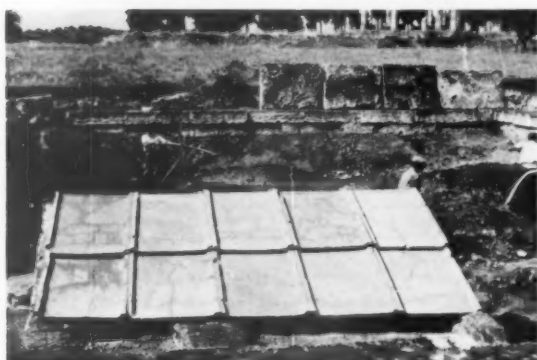


FIG. 2. Paestum: Underground Edifice



FIG. 3. Paestum: Bronze Hydria with Figure of Lion



FIG. 4. Paestum: Bronze Hydria with Tongue-Pattern incised on Shoulder



FIG. 6.

Paestum: Two Bronze Hydriae of the three with identical Features



FIG. 7.

Figs. 2-14: courtesy of P. C. Sestieri



FIG. 5. Paestum: Bronze Hydria
with simple Decoration



FIG. 8. Paestum: Attic black-figured
Amphora



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11 (with Figs. 9, 10, above). Paestum: Painted Walls of Lucanian Tomb



FIG. 12.

Velia: City Walls and Gate
(cf. *AJA* 58, 1954, pl. 71, fig. 11)



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14. Velia: Marble Head



FIG. 16. Cosa: Southeast Wing of Curia Building, from Southwest, showing the Mithraeum installed in lowest Storey in the Second Century A.D.

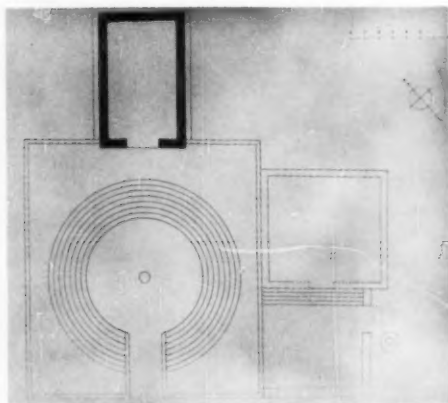


FIG. 15. Cosa: Comitium and Curia of the Second Period, Second Half of the Third Century B.C., together with an independent Altar



FIG. 17. Syracusan Tetradrachms from the Augusta Hoard

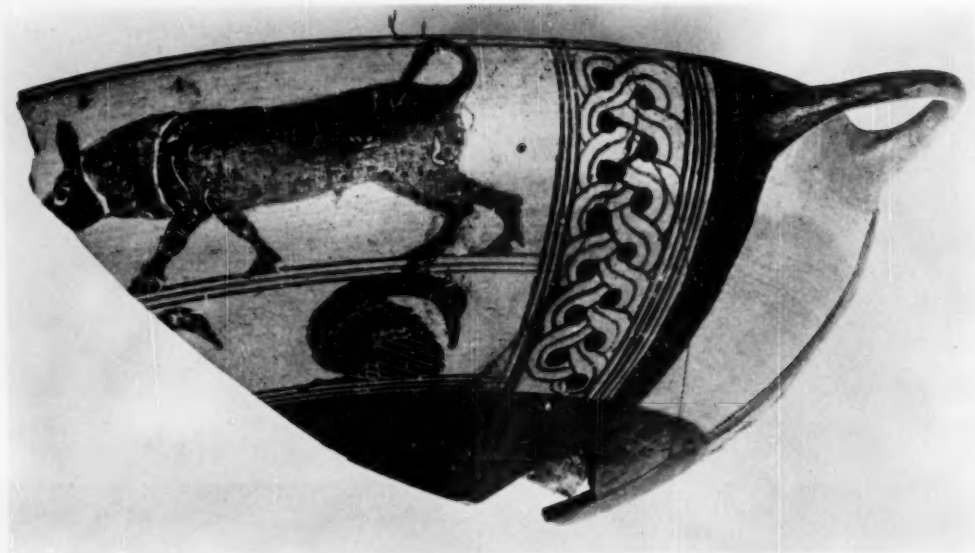


FIG. 19. Megara Hyblaea: Fragment of Rhodian Bowl



FIG. 18. Megara Hyblaea: Fragments of a large Polychrome Vase of local Fabric



FIG. 20. Megara Hyblaea: Archaic terracotta Antefix



FIG. 21. Marble Head of Aphrodite from Syracuse

Figs. 18-20: courtesy of J. Bayet



FIG. 22. Piazza Armerina: Reconditioned Mosaic in small *Latrina*



FIG. 23. Gela: Archaic Ionic Capital from votive Column



FIG. 24. Gela: Horse's Head in terracotta

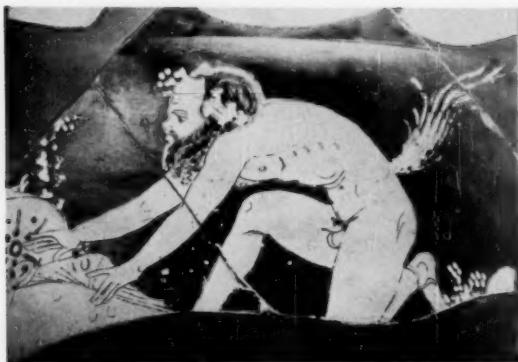


FIG. 25. Gela: Paestan Vase-painting. Silenus stalking Maenad



FIG. 26. Gela: Siculan Bowl containing Group of Representations



FIG. 28. Gela: Enthroned Goddess wearing *Polos*, in terracotta



FIG. 27. Gela: Antefix. Head of Silenus



FIG. 29. Terracotta Model of Building



FIG. 30. Gela: Attic red-figured Lekythos depicting Polynikes and Eriphyle



FIG. 31. Gela: Attic red-figured Lekythos



FIG. 32. Gela: Terracotta Alabastron



FIG. 33. Phlyax Statuette from Manfria, Fourth Century B.C.



FIG. 34. Geometric Siculan Bowl from Butera

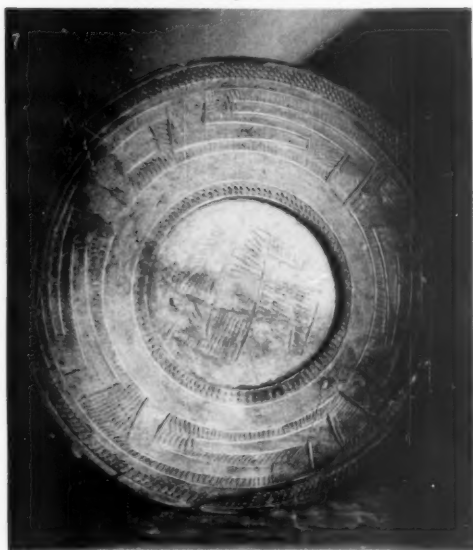


FIG. 35. Bottom of Bowl from Butera



FIG. 36. Pithos of Geloan Fabric from Butera

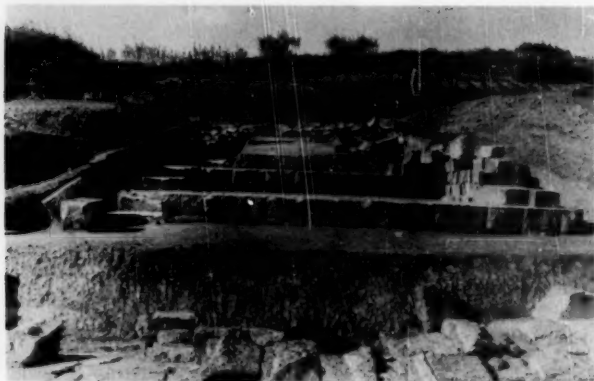


FIG. 37. Selinunte, Gaggera: Archaic Temple, from East.
In Foreground, partial View of Altar

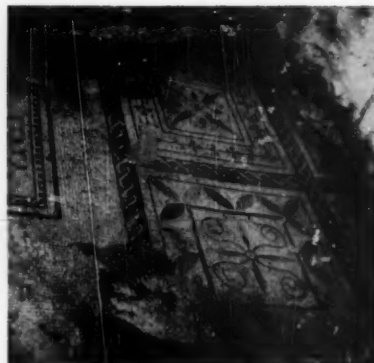
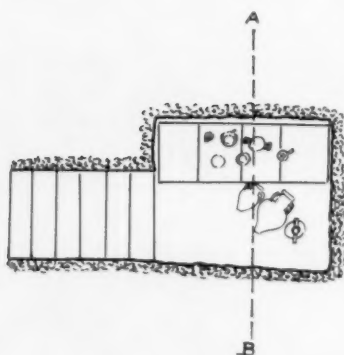
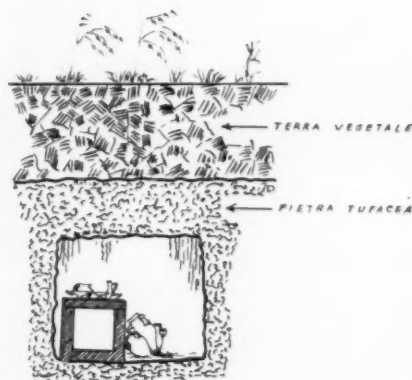


FIG. 38. Marsala: Mosaic Floor
of Second Century

TOMBA
2 4 1



PIANTA



SEZIONE A-B

SCALA 1:50

FIG. 39. Palermo, Punic Necropolis: Chamber Tomb approached by Stairs, and containing
a plain monolithic Sarcophagus and Objects of Punic and Greek Fabrics



FIG. 40. The Grotta Polesini at Ponte Lucano near Tivoli

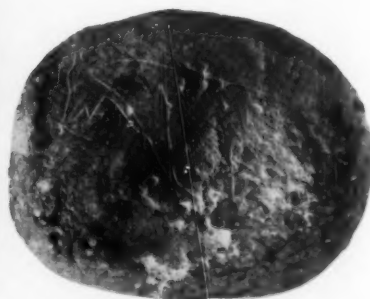


FIG. 41. Pebble from the Grotta Polesini
with incised Drawing of a Wolf.
Upper Palaeolithic Age

Figs. 37-39: courtesy of I. Bovio Marconi

Figs. 40-41: courtesy of A. Radmilli



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

Bronze Statuette of Spartan Warrior in private Collection in London. (One-half actual size)



Fig. 4. Bronze Figure of Youth with Lion Skin, excavated in the Temple of the Moon of Marib, ancient Saba.



Fig. 5. Bronze Statuette of Heracles in the Museum of Cassel, Germany



Fig. 1

Head of Claudius. Memorial Art Gallery,
Rochester

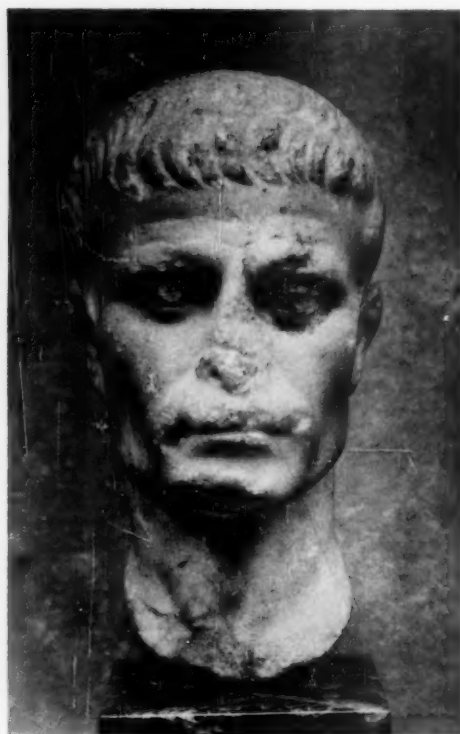


Fig. 2

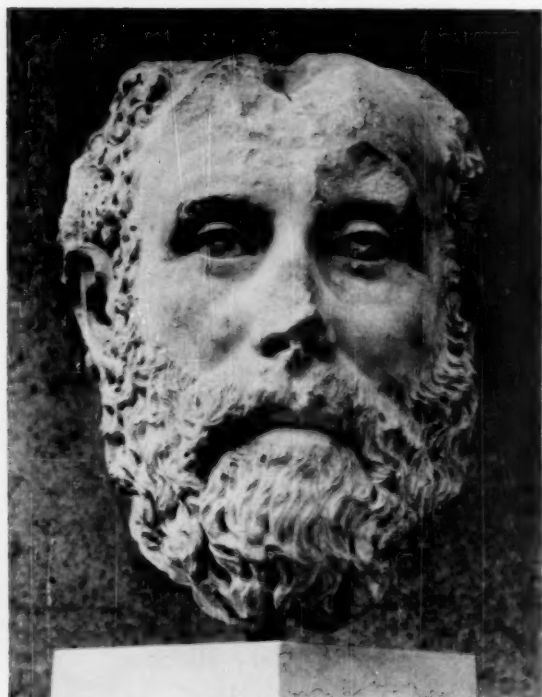


Fig. 3. Portrait Head in Rochester



Fig. 4. Head of Galen, drawn from Juliana
Anicia Manuscript, Vienna. Taken from
Charles Singer, *The Evolution of Anatomy*
(1925)

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THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Fellowships for Women, 1956-57

Twenty-eight fellowships are offered by the American Association of University Women to American Women for advanced study or research during the academic year 1956-57.

In general, the \$2,000 fellowships are awarded to young women who have completed residence work for the Ph.D. degree or who have already received the degree; the \$2,500-\$3,500 awards to more mature scholars. Except as indicated, the fellowships are unrestricted as to subject and place of study.

Applications for all fellowships listed below, together with supporting materials, must reach the AAUW office in Washington, D.C. by December 15, 1955. For detailed information, address the Secretary, Committee on Fellowship Awards, AAUW, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Requests for application forms should include statement of academic status.

National Fellowships

\$2,000—21 fellowships: 18 unrestricted; 2 for study outside the U.S.; 1 for research in chemistry, physics, or biology (doctorate required for this fellowship)

\$2,500—3 fellowships, unrestricted

\$3,000—3 fellowships, unrestricted

\$3,500—1 fellowship, unrestricted

International Fellowships

A number of international fellowships contributed by the AAUW are awarded by the International Federation of University Women. American women are eligible. The successful candidate must study outside her own country, but there is no restriction as to subject.

\$1,500—4 fellowships

\$2,000—1 fellowship

The following international fellowships are offered by federations which are members of the International Federation of University Women:

£600	British	£270 (approx.)	Iceland*
20,000 francs	Belgian	£500	Irish*
\$720	Netherlands*	3,000 D.M.	German*

* For study in the country of the donor federation.